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FOR 1814.

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AT no former period of the history of this country, was so great and so general a distress ever known to prevail, as that which has lately visited us, and of which the pressure unhappily still continues. The sufferings of the people during the scarcities of the years 1796 and 1800 were partial, and of short duration; and if provisions were dear, work was not scarce, nor was the charity of the upper orders of society cramped in the means of relieving the wants of the poor. The distresses of 1810 were confined to the class of mercantile men; and, even among them, those persons only suffered who had indulged more or less in speculation. The exclusion of our manufactures from the Continent in 1812, and the rupture with America, produced a more general depression in publick affairs: But the land did not suffer immediately and directly; and the revocation of the Orders in Council, and the abandonment of the system out of which they sprung, operated an almost instantaneous relief; which being followed by an abundant harvest, and the destruction of the French continental system, effectually relieved the labouring state of our national resources.

During the last twelve or eighteen months, however, the country has been suffering severely in every direction; in its agricul-

ture and its manufactures; its home trade and foreign commerce. The return of peace, after unexampled victories, has brought no relief, but has rather confirmed our apparent ruin; and all classes of men more or less feel the effects of some hidden rottenness in our system, the causes of which no one seems able to discover, much less to remove. Perhaps we should sufficiently prove the unprecedented nature and amount of these distresses, by merely stating the known fact, that they have, for the moment, silenced all party differences, and presented the spectacle of statesmen, generally opposed to each other in the most hostile attitudes, laying aside for the moment all animosity, and joining in the attempt to probe and heal, in the State, wounds equally painful and dangerous to its inhabitants of whatever description.

But although these considerations may suffice to evince the general extent of the evil, we conceive that a more particular illustration of it may form an acceptable introduction to an article, professing chiefly to treat of its nature and causes, with a view of calling the attention of the publick to the remedies that have been proposed. The admirable speech of Mr Western, contains the most striking details upon this part of the subject. The county of Norfolk, as he justly observes, from the excellent state of its agriculture, has probably suffered less than many others. He adds, that it may perhaps be taken as a fair average of the whole kingdom. This we think very probable, from considering, that if, on the one hand, its agriculture be highly improved,—on the other, its soil is by no means of a rich description. Now, in that county, 540 bailable writs were issued in 1814, and 670 in 1815; and the number of executions during the same period, rose from 96 to 174. In Suffolk, the number of bailable writs and executions increased during the same period from 430 to 850. In Worcestershire, they rose from 640 to 890; and of the 216 parishes in that county, 186 were in arrear for property and assessed taxes during the currency of the year 1815. In one of the hundreds of the county of Sussex, 26 parishes out of 32 were in arrear; and in another hundred, 15 out of 20. The remaining four hundreds, of which Sussex consists, were believed to be nearly in the same predicament. But the Isle of Ely exceeds all other districts, in the dreadful augmentation of its distresses. One of the hundreds into which it is divided, occupies about a third part of the Isle. The number of arrests within its bounds, in 1812 and 1813, were *fifty;* in 1814 and 1815, *two hundred and three.* In the same period, the number of executions had increased from *seven* to sixty; and the sums for which the process was issued, from 765*l.* to 18,522*l.*, besides distresses for rent-taxes to the amount of 11,000*l.* To this

must be added the fact, that in the Isle and adjoining parishes, there are now nineteen farms untenanted. But, it must be observed, that these statements are almost altogether derived from the proceedings in the Sheriff's office, which are very far from giving a complete view of the effects produced by the agricultural losses. Distresses come not within that department, unless where goods are replevied, which of late has seldom been done, from a conviction, that the delay of a sale could do but little good. Farmers, too, being rarely within the bankrupt laws, * generally settle their debts when they become insolvent, by deeds of trust and composition, of which no record is to be found, except perhaps in provincial papers.—Still further accounts of distress in the same county, from which the worst of these details are taken, that of Cambridge, have recently come before Parliament. It appeared from a petition, referred to in Mr Brougham's Speech, that, in one parish, every individual, with a single exception, was wholly ruined;—that this gentleman had to pay the whole poor-rates of the parish, and that his income was accordingly entirely absorbed. In some parts of the West of England, particularly Devonshire, whole districts are reduced to misery; and, in Ireland, the evil exceeds even the worst examples known in Great Britain. The tenants are there throwing up their farms in bodies; selling their little stock, and quitting the country. Large tracts of country are literally laid waste, as if the ravages of pestilence, or famine, or war, had swept every thing away before them; and proprietors, who used to receive thousands a-year of rent, have now not nearly so many hundreds, and, in some cases, scarcely any thing at all. Upon the causes of the evil, men may dispute;—of its terrible extent, no one can entertain a doubt.

It is a judicious remark of Mr Western, (to whose industry and perseverance the country is so much indebted for bringing the subject forward, thoroughly acquainted as he is known to be with all its details), that we shall in vain look for those causes, if we are resolved to find a single principle only; for several circumstances have undoubtedly concurred in producing the existing state of things. We shall now, as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit, explain the history, and, in doing

* It is one of the inconsistencies of the English law, that a farmer cannot be made a bankrupt, as such, because *his* dealings are supposed to be more beyond the reach of change than those of a merchant, who yet depends on the same winds and weather. To say, that the farmer does not gain his living by buying and selling, as much as the manufacturer, is a mere absurdity.

so, exhibit, we think, the cause of the evil complained of;—premising, that as we hold it at all times our duty to shun every thing like party violence, (and the offence we have occasionally given to both the regular parties of the country, is some proof of our success in the pursuit of moderation and impartiality), so do we feel the present to be an occasion that calls more especially for the utmost calmness and candour. The Parliamentary leaders, who have treated this momentous question, have indeed set a signal example of those qualities to their followers out of doors, and have carried on their inquiries rather after the manner of scientific investigation than political discussion.

We conceive, that much of the misconception prevalent with respect to the causes and nature of the present distresses, arises from the belief, that they have suddenly come upon the country at the return of peace: But nothing, in our apprehension, is more evident, than that the evil was gradually preparing, and that its approach was only accelerated by the course of events. We must recur to a somewhat more distant period to trace its origin and progress.

The war which broke out in 1793 produced the usual effect of all such political changes, by checking for a while the commerce and manufactures of the country, impairing its credit, and to a certain degree impeding the progress of its agriculture, which like every other pursuit had begun to flourish during the former years of peace, and had partaken in the progress then made by all the sciences and arts. But in no other war did these effects last a shorter time; and they were succeeded by a very unusual stimulus to every branch of industry, afforded by the distressed state of the Continent, and the immense naval superiority which our arms soon obtained. These circumstances gave us a sort of monopoly which we had never before enjoyed, at least in any thing like the same degree—and our manufactures very soon advanced, instead of suffering or remaining stationary through the war. It was not, however, during the first two or three years that the principal effects were perceived. Our attention should rather be directed to the period between 1797 and 1808, in order to have a clear view of the progress which the country made both in trade and agriculture. And we are now to trace the peculiar circumstances, some of them novel in their kind, many of them unexampled in degree, but at all events new in their combination, which concurred to promote the cultivation of the country during those ten remarkable years.

We have already adverted to the progress of our arms. The victory of Lord Howe in 1794, the neglect of the French navy during the confusion of the Revolution, and the loss of the co-

lonies by conquest and internal commotion, had gone far to destroy the enemy's commerce. Holland had fallen under his dominion, and Spain followed her example. The defeat of the Dutch fleet in 1797, and the capture of the settlements in Guiana, as well as of Ceylon and Trinidad, with the interruption of all direct commerce between Europe and the Spanish main, soon ensued; and our trade and manufactures gained in proportion as our competitors were driven from the market. The progress of our manufactures produced its usual and natural effect upon cultivation.

The scarcity of 1796, and the still greater and more general scarcity of 1800, gave a stimulus to farming which it is impossible to overlook, and would be difficult to exaggerate. The high price of wheat after the former bad harvest, and of all kinds of grain after the latter, occasioned a vast portion of land to be thrown into cultivation which had before been untilled, either in grass or in waste. And when the subsequent progress of enclosures still further increased the cultivated portion of the country, it only slowly replaced the proportion of grass lands ploughed up between 1797 and 1802. The effects of these two bad seasons have been compared to the corresponding effects produced by the destruction of the French colonies, upon the cultivation of sugar. We have formerly explained this at great length, in our Numbers for November 1807 and January 1809; but we may, for the sake of illustration, here remind the reader how the sugar market was affected by the events now alluded to. After St Domingo was destroyed in 1793, and Guadaloupe partially ravaged soon after, so large a part of the whole sugar grown in the world was taken out of the market, that prices rose to an extravagant height; and this tempted every one who had land fit for producing the article, to avail himself of the facilities afforded by the African slave trade, and break it up into cane pieces. The proprietors of old plantations, in like manner, bestirred themselves to increase by all means their produce—until in a few years the thing was prodigiously overdone, and not only the blank was supplied, but a great deal more was produced than the demand, now much diminished by the events of the war, could carry off. The consequence was, a fall of prices as much below the ordinary standard as they had in 1794 and 1795 been above it. The ruin of many planters, and the distress of all, ensued. The inferior lands were thrown out of cultivation, and the excessive culture of the others was restrained, until, the supply being considerably reduced, the prices attained the level necessary for repayment of the expenses of cultivation and the subsistence of the cultivator.

The peace, by opening the market, and reducing the cost of culture and management, has since still further relieved the West Indian body: but those who were incumbered with debts, and had to pay a fixed pecuniary interest; and those who had bad lands, lands producing inferior sugars, or lands peculiarly expensive to cultivate, suffered most severely, and, in very many instances, were wholly ruined. In this, as in several other respects, the case of the colonial distresses very closely resembled the present sufferings of the agricultural interests at home.

About the same time with the scarcities of 1795 and 1800, the vast expenditure of the Government produced a similar effect in augmenting the prices of corn, and encouraging cultivation. It is true, that the money raised by taxes, and spent in war, would, if left in the pockets of the people, have ultimately reached the same point through different channels; nay, it would have raised to a greaetr amount the capital of the country, and thus given a still more extensive impulse to its manufactures and its productions. But the operations of finance and war brought capital much more suddenly into play, and compelled a far larger sum to be expended yearly in the purchase of agricultural and manufacturing produce, than would have gone naturally to that quarter, had their savings been left in the hands of individuals. The gradual increase of capital, and consequently of expenditure in the natural way, operates equally upon all branches of industry; and, if it raises the amount of production in a given time, it likewise creates a permanent extension of the demand for produce. When so many millions are at once raised by taxes, and spent in consumption, a great stimulus is rapidly applied, and a great increase of production follows; while the termination of the war leaves a large part of the supply without any demand. Besides, the expenditure of Government is always wasteful, and tends to raise the market in a much greater degree than the same sums spent by private individuals.

The progress of agriculture, which was urged forward by these circumstances, was still further precipitated by the state of the circulation subsequent to 1797. The stoppage of the Bank of England was followed by the extension of paper credit all over the country. New banks were everywhere established, and the old ones greatly increased their discounts, thus affording to farmers and speculators in land, a facility of carrying on their schemes wholly unknown in former times. No class of the community received so large a share of this accommodation as the agriculturist, whose security was better, and whose habits were less adventurous.

At the same time with the powerful encouragements already

mentioned, there happened two events, operating in the same direction, the extension of our colonial possessions, and the completion of our commercial monopoly; events resulting from the war, and tending powerfully to augment the cultivation of this island, now become the great emporium of trade, and the spot where much of the colonial rents ultimately centered. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this tendency; every one knows how directly the agriculture of any district is promoted by the existence in its neighbourhood of any great town, which serves as a place of transit for the traffic of other districts; and, by the war, England had become such an entrepôt for the rest of the world. Every one is aware how speedily the rents of foreign possessions, received in any district, find their way to the improvement of that district; and England had now become, by conquest, the intermediate receiver of almost all colonial rents, and the ultimate receiver of money from the residence of some planters in this country, as those of Tobago and the Dutch settlements, and nearly all the mortgagees of those colonies.

It deserves to be added here, that partly from the general progress of arts and sciences, and partly from the peculiar incentives to agricultural pursuits already enumerated, vast improvements in every thing connected with farming took place about the period to which we are referring. There would be no end of enumerating the inventions for economizing labour, and increasing production, to which the last twenty years have given birth. But we shall close this branch of the subject with stating the general result of all the particulars mentioned, from Mr Brougham's Speech.

'The improvements in most parts of the country have been going on so visibly, that the most careless observer must have been struck by them. Not only wastes have disappeared for miles and miles, giving place to houses, fences, and crops; not only have even the most inconsiderable commons, the very village greens, and the little stripes of sward by the way side, been in many places subjected to division and exclusive ownership, and cut up into corn fields in the rage for farming; not only have stubborn soils been forced to bear crops by mere weight of metal, by sinking money in the earth, as it has been called,—but the land that formerly grew something has been fatigued with labour, and loaded with capital, until it yielded much more. The work both of men and cattle has been economized, new skill has been applied, and a more dexterous combination of different kinds of husbandry been practised, until, without at all comprehending the waste lands wholly added to the productive territory of the Island, it may be safely said, not perhaps that two blades of grass now grow where one only grew before, but I am sure, that five grow where four used to be; and that this kingdom,

which foreigners were wont to taunt as a mere manufacturing and trading country, inhabited by a shopkeeping nation, is, in reality, for its size, by far the greatest agricultural state in the world.' p. 14, 15.

We are now to enter upon a new period, and to trace the operation of causes similar in their kind, but opposite in their tendency. The declension of agriculture produced by these, is the evil at present complained of. The effects of the over cultivation now began to be felt. The enclosures and improvements of the preceding years had come into play—the land was yielding its full crops—when there happened some of the best harvests that had ever been known. Of this description were the years 1812, 1813 and 1814. As the operation of the political circumstances tending to quicken agriculture, had, in 1795, 1799 and 1800, been accidentally aided by the scarcities of those years, so, the effects of the political circumstances now beginning to depress agriculture, were assisted by the accident of extraordinary abundance in 1812, 1813 and 1814. The discomfiture of the French arms at this period, and the certainty of peace in the course of a few months, operated most remarkably upon prices. In 1813, wheat and flour fell about one half between January and November; partly, no doubt, owing to the excellent harvest, but, in a great measure, to the events on the Continent, which, during the autumn of that memorable year, rendered the prolongation of hostilities beyond a few months eminently improbable. Peace then came; and the Government expenditure was suddenly diminished by about fifty millions a year. If any example were wanting to illustrate the effects of this change, we might appeal to the state of Ireland, the great market for victualling the navy. No part of the empire has suffered so much; and the cattle which used there to furnish the ships' provisions, have, since the peace, been poured over into this country, so as to affect, for the first time, the rents of districts depending wholly upon grazing, and which had hitherto kept up at their usual rate.

Nor are the commercial difficulties of the country to be overlooked, in tracing the retrograde steps which agriculture was now fated to make. If the monopoly of war had rapidly extended our trade, the cessation of that monopoly must now have cramped it, at least until new channels could be found into which it might flow, after the confusion ever attendant upon a change, whether from peace to war, or from war to peace, should have subsided. But, indeed, long before this change happened, our mercantile affairs had begun to suffer the most serious embarrassments. The distresses of 1810 had never been

recovered; and the complete execution of the enemy's project, of excluding us from the Continent, effected by the cooperation of our own wretched policy, had, in 1812, increased those distresses to a still more alarming degree. The American war, which followed, added to the mischief; and subsequent events have done nothing to repair the injuries then inflicted upon our commerce. Indeed, the sudden opening of the Continent in 1814, produced a scene of speculation almost equalling the most famous commercial delusions recorded in history. The following sketch of it is extracted from Mr Brougham's Speech.

'After the cramped state in which the enemy's measures, and our own retaliation, (as we termed it), had kept our trade for some years, when the events of spring 1814 suddenly opened the Continent, a rage for exporting goods of every kind burst forth, only to be explained by reflecting on the previous restrictions we had been labouring under, and only to be equalled (though not in extent) by some of the mercantile delusions connected with South American speculations. Every thing that could be shipped was sent off; all the capital that could be laid hold of was embarked. The frenzy, I can call it nothing less after the experience of 1806 and 1810, descended to persons in the humblest circumstances, and the furthest removed, by their pursuits, from commercial cares. It may give the Committee some idea of this disease, if I state what I know to have happened in one or two places. Not only clerks and labourers, but menial servants engaged the little sums which they had been laying up for a provision against old age and sickness; persons went round tempting them to adventure in the trade to Holland, and Germany, and the Baltic; they risked their mite in the hopes of boundless profits; it went with the millions of the more regular traders: the bubble soon burst, like its predecessors of the South Sea, the Mississippi, and Buenos Ayres; English goods were selling for much less in Holland and the north of Europe, than in London and Manchester; in most places they were lying a dead weight without any sale at all; and either no returns whatever were received, or pounds came back for thousands that had gone forth. The great speculators broke; the middling ones lingered out a precarious existence, deprived of all means of continuing their dealings either at home or abroad; the poorer dupes of the delusion had lost their little hoards, and went upon the parish the next mishap that befel them; but the result of the whole has been much commercial distress—a caution now absolutely necessary in trying new adventures—a prodigious diminution in the demand for manufactures, and indirectly a serious defalcation in the effectual demand for the produce of land.

'The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect, though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European market the year before; both because ultimately the Americans will pay,

which the exhausted state of the Continent renders very unlikely; and because it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things. But, in the mean time, the enormous amount of, I believe, eighteen millions worth of goods were exported to North America in one year; I am informed nearly sixteen millions went through the port of Liverpool alone; and, for a considerable part of this, no returns have been received, while still more of it must have been, selling at a very scanty profit. The immediate effect has been a sensible increase of the difficulties which I have already described as flowing from the unexpected opening of the European market in the impoverished and unsettled state of the Continent.' p. 22—24.

With the period of greatest agricultural supply, of extreme commercial depression, and of sudden diminution in the demands arising from government contracts and war expenditure generally, an event coincided, which was calculated to increase all the burthens now pressing so heavily upon the cultivator;—we allude to the rapid change in the state of the currency, and the consequent stoppage of all accommodation. The Bank of England almost at once drew in its issues of paper, to the amount of three millions below what they had been upon an average of some years; for, at one period, they had been six millions higher. The country banks, now under the influence of alarm,—lessened in a much greater degree their usual discounts. All classes of speculators felt this sudden and unexpected change severely; but most especially speculators in land, who had been led into their operations and supported in them by the extreme facilities afforded by dealers in money and credit during the late times.

'The improver of land (Mr Brougham observes) has to deal with property not easily convertible into money, and his adventures extend necessarily over a long course of years. Persons in this situation soon found their borrowed capital withdrawn; when the fall of produce made it difficult for them to pay the interest, they were suddenly called upon for the principal; they had gotten into a situation which no prudence could have enabled them to avoid, because it was the result of events which no sagacity could have foreseen; they had for many years been tempted to speculate by a facility of obtaining capital or credit, which in a month or two was utterly withdrawn; and before the least warning had been given either by the course of events, or by the dealers in money and accommodation, a support was removed which the most cautious of men might well have expected to be continued indefinitely, or, at any rate, to be gradually removed. I beg leave, in illustration of this matter, to remind the Committee how those undertakings have been carried

on which I before described as extending so greatly the agriculture of the country. A man of small fortune, or a farmer making considerable profits by the high prices of the period I have so often alluded to, saw an opportunity of making a desirable purchase, upon an enclosure, or a sale in his neighbourhood. He had scraped together a couple of thousand pounds, perhaps; but the sum required for buying, and then improving the land, was four or five. The banker supplied this difference, and by his accommodations enabled some middleman, trading on credit, to supply it, and the cultivator had every reason to hope he should, in a few years, be able to repay it by the continued prosperity of farming concerns. At any rate, he reckoned upon paying the interest and not being called upon for the principal, in security of which he probably deposited the title deeds of his purchase as a pledge. The extension of cultivation caused by these very operations, together with the other circumstances to which I have referred, rapidly lowers the price of all produce; the alarm of money dealers begins to spread; hardly able to pay the interest which is in reality a fourth more than it was while the currency was depreciated 25 per cent., he is called upon to pay up the principal itself; destitute of any thing that can be turned into money, he is fain to abandon his purchase with all the improvements which his savings and his toil have made upon it; and the lender finds himself in hardly a better situation, without the means of obtaining payment, and with title deeds in his hand, which he can turn to no account, unless he brings the land into the market. Now, the certainty of such a measure lowering its price, prevents this step from being taken; and, accordingly, great as the distress has been, very little land has been actually sold; not so much as ought to have been, is thrown out of cultivation; good money, to use the common expression, is thrown after bad; the money dealer becomes, from necessity, a land jobber; and the distress continues pushing its shoots in all directions, round the whole circle of trade, until, by reaction, the farmer suffers again indirectly, and the total amount of suffering is, if I may so speak, augmented by its universality, and the connexion of its parts. Nor should I be at all surprized if things were to grow worse before they got better; at least I am very certain that the price of land will be lower before it is higher, from the undoubted fact of many sales that must take place, having been delayed as long as possible in the vain hope of the necessity being evaded.' p. 26—29.

While produce was fetching a high price, and accommodation was easy in the money market, the cultivator did not feel the pressure of those enormous taxes which the necessities of the war had occasioned. But these began to crush him, in proportion as his former supports were withdrawn. In 1792, the revenue was about fifteen millions a year; it had now increased to about sixty-six. In one year we had expended above one

hundred and twenty-five millions; this year, the publick expenses are above seventy-two millions, and the permanent peace establishment is calculated at sixty-five millions. It is only necessary to state this prodigious change in the financial system of the country, in order to perceive how materially the land, on which so large a proportion of all imposts falls, must have suffered from the drains upon the people, which the war has rendered necessary. Many of the taxes, imposed since 1792, press upon agriculture with a peculiar weight. In assessed taxes, it is estimated, that a farm of 400 acres, and 5 or 600*l.* rent, pays above twenty-two pounds additional. Direct taxation has also raised the expense of all articles of leather, including, of course, the boots and shoes of the labourer. Labour, in general, has been still further raised in price, by taxes affecting the necessaries of life. The Malt tax in every way operates most severely upon agriculture. It raises the price of beer, which, in most parts of England, is consumed as an article of almost prime necessity by farm servants and labourers. It diminishes the demand for the farm produce, and it increases the farmer's expense of living. The duty on malt since 1792, has been raised from 10s. 7d. to 34s. 8d. per quarter, of which 16s. is war duty; that on beer, from 5s. 7½d. per barrel to 9s. 7¼d.; and that on spirits from 7d. to 21d. per gallon of wash; the total revenue thus collected from barley being 12,350,000*l.* If any further explanation is required, how these and other taxes affect the farmer more than the other classes of the community, independently of the duties more directly laid upon agricultural produce, we may observe, that when taxes have raised the price of labour, the cultivator is affected by the rise very differently from the manufacturer. His produce has lately been upon the decline, and he therefore cannot throw the additional cost of production upon the consumer. But, what is still more material, the law throws upon the land the whole weight of maintaining the poor, and keeps all labour, manufacturing as well as agricultural, below its natural price, at the sole expense of the cultivator.

'Whatever may have been the intention of the Legislature, (and the meaning of the statute of Elizabeth is sufficiently plain), yet, from a defect in the powers of the act, the money raised for the support of the poor, is paid entirely by the land. Persons in trade only pay in so far as they are also owners of real property. Thus a manufacturer who is deriving ten or twelve thousand a year from his trade, is rated as if he only had a large building worth four or five hundred a year beside his dwelling-house, while his neighbour, who possesses a farm of the same yearly value, pays as much; that is, the man of ten thousand a year in trade, pays no more than the

man of five hundred a year in land. Yet, only observe the difference between the two in the relation to labour and to the poor. The farmer employs a few hands—the manufacturer a whole colony;—the farmer causes no material augmentation in the number of paupers—the manufacturer multiplies paupers by wholesale;—the one supports—the other makes paupers, manufactures them just as certainly, and in something of the same proportion as he manufactures goods. The inequality of this distribution is plain enough; but I am now speaking of it in its relation chiefly to the subject of wages. From the abuse of the poor laws, it has become the prevailing practice to support by parish relief, not merely persons who are disabled from working by disease or age, but those who, though in health, cannot earn enough to maintain them; and, by a short-sighted policy, wholly unaccountable, the custom has spread very widely of keeping down the wages of labour by the application of the poor rates, as if any thing could equal the folly of paying rates rather than hire; of parting with the disposition of your own money, and of paying for labour, not in proportion to your own demand for that labour, but in proportion to some general average of the district you chance to live in. I pass over the inevitable effect of this arrangement, in raising the total amount of the sums paid for labour, and in throwing upon one farm the expenses of cultivating another less favourably circumstanced; it is enough for my present purpose to remark, that the whole effect of the system is to make the land pay a sum yearly,—levied in the most unequal manner—applied in the least economical way,—for the purpose of lowering the wages generally, and lowering the wages of manufacturing as well as agricultural labour. From this unquestionable position, I draw two inferences, I think equally undeniable, and bearing directly upon the subject of our present inquiry;—the one is, that the effects of taxation in raising the price of labour are not distributed equally over all classes of the community, but fall exclusively upon the land, the land paying for the rise which the taxes have occasioned, both in agricultural labour, and in all other kinds of work;—the other is, that, even if the fall in the price of provisions should apparently restore wages permanently to their former level, the real rate of wages would still be raised, and the real costs of cultivation be augmented, unless the poor rates also had been brought back to their former amount. The sum now levied upon the land for this purpose, exceeds eight millions. Before the American war it was less than two. I think I have said enough to show how immediately, how severely, how exclusively the rise in the taxes from fifteen to sixty-six millions has pressed upon agriculture; how impossible it is to expect substantial relief as long as that pressure continues.' p. 37–39.

We have now traced the causes of the present distress; and we shall proceed to notice the remedies which have been proposed, as well as those which have perhaps been too little attend-

ed to. A great part of the evil is, in our opinion, temporary, and may be expected to pass over the heads of those who are at present the most alarmed by it. But a considerable portion is of a more permanent nature; we mean, the jeopardy in which those speculators find themselves, who, having purchased, or partly purchased, partly borrowed, when the currency was depreciated, with the project of selling at a still higher price, now find themselves compelled to part with their land at a reduced rate, and pay back the borrowed money at a higher rate. For such persons there is perhaps no remedy to be found, except it be in the forbearance of creditors, which, we believe, mutual interest is likely of itself to inculcate.

There are some remedies which we may mention, in the first place, for the purpose of laying them out of the way, as either wholly exceptionable or inefficacious, or both. It has been proposed to grant a loan of Exchequer bills to the farmers, in the same manner as loans have been given at different times to the mercantile body. Upon this project it is necessary to remark, that the popular objections to it which the trading interest have raised, are very ill founded. The right of the landed interest to this species of assistance, is fully as incontestable as their own. When the Grenada planters, and the merchants generally, at the stoppage of the Bank in 1797, and during the stagnation of all trade in 1811, obtained large advances, they had not more pressing claims of distress to urge than the cultivator has at the present time. If, therefore, the latter could show, that such an aid as the country could afford to give would do him an effectual service, there could be no objection to his demand of it. But the misfortune is, that this mode of relief is objectionable on better grounds. It would be quite impossible to lend sums sufficiently considerable to meet the difficulties complained of. A plan has been suggested in Parliament, of advancing to each farmer who applies for it, a sum equal to half a year's rent, upon security being given for the repayment. It is unnecessary to observe, how very trifling the relief thus afforded would prove. What the farmer complains of, is a lowering of prices from 70s. or 80s. to 50s. or 60s.,—say a fall of 20s. a quarter upon wheat, or three pounds an acre, supposing the average produce to be about three quarters. Taking the average rent at 30s., (which is certainly too high), the proposed plan would terminate in relieving by 15s. a pressure of 3*l.*; and, in order to obtain this trivial aid, the farmer would become a Crown debtor, and be liable to the process of extent, with all its dreadful consequences, both to himself and his other creditors. We may fairly question, whether such assistance

would ever be applied for upon such terms. But to afford any more liberal aid of this kind, would be manifestly impossible. Suppose a whole year's rent were so advanced, and that only one-fourth of the farmers obtained it, this would require a sum of above twelve millions Sterling;—a sum which it would greatly incommode our finances to raise by Exchequer bills, in addition to the loans and issues of the year, and which, after all, would hardly be worth the expenses, trouble and risk, at which the farmer would obtain it.

A bounty upon exportation has been suggested; and Mr Western is an advocate, we are sorry to see, for this expedient. So many occasions have offered themselves to us for exposing the impolicy of all such projects, that we shall not stop here to refute it upon general principles; but one consideration is sufficient to show how inapplicable it is to the difficulty in question. If we have succeeded in showing, that one of the principal causes of our present sufferings is the weight of taxation, how futile must the proposal appear, of seeking to relieve or palliate those sufferings by a measure, the very essence of which is a considerable augmentation of the publick burdens! The downfall of the Income-tax, and the War Malt-duty, have already begun to afford some relief to the community. The bounty recommended would force us to abandon this step towards amendment, as far as regards the Malt-duty; for two or three millions must be raised by some such tax, to pay the expenses of the bounty.

The removal of the permission to warehouse foreign corn, has also met with Mr Western's countenance, and, we think, unfortunately. The existence of corn in the warehouse, which cannot by law be brought into the market, is obviously a matter of mere indifference. How, then, can the permission to warehouse affect the market? It is said, that were this permission withdrawn, the corn of home-growth would be warehoused. But surely it will, in the present state of the law, be kept in private stores, exactly to the same amount, and, for the same reason, namely, that the market price does not tempt the grower to sell it. We are told, however, that the permission tempts merchants to bring foreign corn over, before the returns have reached the importation price; and that the grain thus collected is ready in a moment to be poured into the market. But it must be obvious, that were no such permission given, the same corn would be prepared on the other side of the water, and brought over as soon as the point fixed by the law was reached; so that the length of the voyage is the only respite which the grower could derive from altering the present ar-

rangement in this particular;—a circumstance wholly immaterial, when it is considered, that as soon as the returns have indicated the average required, the ports are opened until the stated period elapses, and the average at its expiration has fallen below 80s.

We have already spoken of the proposal for assisting farmers with money by way of public loan. A much more sound view is taken by those who, observing that the distress is in so many cases of a temporary nature, and that if the pressure of the moment were escaped, a total recovery would be effected,—remarking, too, that private loans are rendered extremely difficult by the state of the usury laws,—have proposed to repeal all restrictions upon contracts relating to money, and leave the borrower and lender to make their own terms, like all other parties in mercantile transactions.—That the usury laws have materially augmented the difficulties of the cultivator in these times, we can entertain no doubt. Money is not to be had, except by way of annuity; so that both the insurance of about two per cent. is to be paid by the borrower, the expenses of the transaction are thrown upon him, and the rate of interest is directly raised by the difficulties and risks of the business. Even upon real security, ten, twelve, and fifteen per cent. are now paid for loans effected in this expensive manner; whereas, but for the usury laws, it might in all probability be had for six, seven or eight. There can be no doubt, therefore, that persons who wished to borrow, in order to help them through the difficulties of the times, would have been greatly benefited by a repeal of these absurd and barbarous laws. But to undertake their abrogation at this particular crisis, would, as it seems to us, be unwise, on account of those persons who have already borrowed upon mortgage, and whose creditors would immediately call up their money, or demand a higher rate of interest, were the restriction suddenly taken off. A considerable increase of the difficulties, under which the landed interest labours, would thus be produced; for it is plain, that a good portion of the money which is now lent to landholders, would be diverted from their use, and not returned to them at the advanced rate of interest. We rejoice, however, to see so favourable a disposition in Parliament, for revising the laws in question; and we trust, that as soon as the present distresses have subsided, the subject will be fully brought forward. The more it is discussed, the more certain is the repeal of those laws, which no man of sound understanding can now be found hardy enough to support. Mr Bentham, to whom is due the rare praise, of having at once begun and finished the task of

opening mens' eyes upon this subject, has been prevailed upon to reprint his inimitable performance, since the question began to attract notice in the House of Commons. It is our intention to take up the subject in our next Number; and we are willing to hope, that a short period of repose from the recent troubles in the political system, will enable the Legislature to distinguish this age, by eradicating one of the most pernicious errors, which the darkness of early ages, and the blind deference to authority, of more civilized times, has ever planted in society.

We have now stated the remedies which appear to be inapplicable, inadequate, or in other respects objectionable; and shall proceed to notice the sounder views which have been taken of the means within our reach, to alleviate, if not to remove, the evils complained of. We pass over one remedy, which the distresses themselves will enforce, the throwing a considerable portion of expensive and inferior land out of cultivation. There can be no doubt that much land has been taken into tillage of late years, which never ought to have been broken up; and, generally speaking, the land which is cultivated at the greatest cost, will be the most likely to be abandoned.

The subject of the Wool laws, is the first which presents itself under this head. Our readers are probably aware, that although the equally barbarous and absurd penalties formerly imposed upon the exportation of sheep and wool, are no longer in force, yet there are precautions taken amply sufficient totally to prevent the exportation. Now, why should the woolgrower be prohibited from finding a market for his commodity, in order that the manufacturer and consumer of the article may purchase it cheap? It must be confessed, that a strong case of danger from exportation ought to be made out, before so unjust a distinction can be tolerated. The mere inconvenience to manufacturers, of augmenting their expenses, and lessening their profits, is no sufficient reason for continuing such a monopoly. The long existence of that monopoly is not a much more satisfactory ground of defence; although, unquestionably, after the policy of the law has for a length of time been drawing more capital and labour into a particular line than would naturally flow thither, the change to a better system ought to be made gradually, in order to avoid, as much as possible, those sudden convulsions, so prejudicial to the mercantile interests of a community. But the present distresses of the agriculturists deserve to be considered, in relation to this subject; and if a material relief can be obtained, by repealing the monopoly laws, nothing short of the most imminent danger to the manufacturing interests can justify their con-

tinuance. The two points, then, involved in this question, are, the extent of the benefit to the farmer, and the nature of the risk to the manufacturer, which may be expected to result from a repeal of the obnoxious laws. With respect to the first point, there is abundant reason to believe, that much benefit would be derived from whatever tended to prevent a depression in the price of wool. Hitherto it has been kept up, notwithstanding the fall of all other prices, chiefly by the orders in the market for the clothing of foreign troops; and accordingly, the wool-growing districts have generally escaped the severe pressure under which the other parts of the country have laboured. The good price of this article has had the effect of supporting the growers of it under their other losses, and has thus kept much stock out of the market, which would otherwise have been thrown in, and augmented the general glut. But the persons best informed upon the subject, observing the fall in wool that is already beginning, do not hesitate in expressing their belief, that it must speedily decline to its former low prices, unless the growers are allowed access to the foreign market. The manufacturers, however, assert, that the exportation of wool would destroy the manufactures in this country. They contend, that the long coarse wool used in carpet, worsted, and other manufactures, is peculiar to Great Britain; and that if it were exportable in the raw state, the low rate of wages in foreign countries would enable them to undersell us in every open market. Into the details of this question we cannot at present enter. Indeed, the facts upon which its decision must turn, have not been investigated with sufficient attention; and the Committee, to whom the House of Commons referred the inquiry, unfortunately rested satisfied with reporting, that the price of wool had not fallen low enough to entitle them to consider its depression as a cause of the prevailing distresses. We purpose, however, with such materials as are within our reach, to resume the discussion separately upon an early occasion.

It has always been found, that the mercantile and manufacturing bodies have possessed greater influence with the government, and have been more ready to use it, than the agricultural classes. The former, inhabiting large towns, act together in bodies, and are generally much better informed, as well as more alive to every thing that concerns them. The latter live dispersed and isolated; they have no facility of combination, nor indeed any habits of publick business; they are indolent, and averse to disturbing the tranquillity which is congenial to their condition: they are, besides, generally deficient in point of information. No minister ever touched the commerce of the country with im-

punity; it is easier to raise a pound from the land, than a penny from trade. Sir Robert Walpole jocosely observed, that when he had to deal with the landed interest, all went on smoothly—they came quietly to be shorn; but if he only touched the trader, it was like shearing a hog—more cry than wool. The result has generally been, that the mercantile body have both escaped their share of the publick burdens, and have obtained from the State, extraordinary encouragements of every kind, chiefly in the shape of monopolies in their favour; while the landed interest, at whose expense always, in common with the rest of the country, and frequently in a more peculiar manner these monopolies have been established, have been too indolent, or too weak, from their ignorance and dispersion, to offer any effectual resistance, and even to defend themselves.

We have just been considering one remarkable instance of such a monopoly, in favour of the manufacturer, at the cost of the landed interest; we shall now allude to another, in which the colonial body has obtained a monopoly, not perhaps so material from its effects, but still more rigorous in the principle of its operation. For the encouragement of the plantations in North America, it was deemed expedient to prohibit the cultivation of Tobacco in the mother country. The 12 *Car. II. c.* 34, imposed a duty of forty shillings per rod or pole, upon all grounds planted with tobacco. This heavy duty, with all the advantages of soil and climate, does not seem to have been a sufficient protection to the colonies; for, three years afterwards, it was found necessary to increase the penalty, and add others. By 15 *Car. II. c.* 7, the duty was raised to twelve pounds a rod; and even this seemed to have been insufficient; for the 22. 23. *Car. II. c.* 26, orders all constables and other officers, under penalties, to enter the grounds, and pluck up and destroy the tobacco plants, after stating, that notwithstanding the former acts, the culture of tobacco was increasing. This statute appears to have effectually put a stop to it in England; but towards the end of the American war, the act not being deemed to affect Scotland, a considerable cultivation of the plant took place there, chiefly, we believe, in the neighbourhood of Kelso, where above 1000 acres are said to have been successfully planted in this manner. To prevent this, the 22 *Geo. III. c.* 73, was passed, extending the penalties of the former statutes to Scotland, and with decisive effect. It should seem that this policy was not capable of thriving on the west of St George's Channel; for the prohibition was repealed as to Ireland by the 19 *Geo. III. c.* 35, upon the ground that it was expedient to encourage the sister kingdom in the growth of every thing which did not interfere with the interests of the larger island. The

reader may perhaps think that a sufficient share of absurdity is perceivable in this policy, as far as we have hitherto traced it; but a greater inconsistency remains to be noticed. The whole object of the prohibition, or nearly the whole, was the encouragement of our colonies in North America. But they were now no longer ours;—they had become to all intents a foreign state;—nay, a state peculiarly the object of jealousy, and especially of commercial jealousy;—and yet we continued, and to this day maintain in their favour, the prohibition of tobacco-planting in our own dominions!—and, having once prevented the English farmer from growing it, to encourage our fellow-subject the colonial planter, we still continue the prohibition to encourage the planter become an alien, and even while he is an enemy.

Now, it seems extremely reasonable, were it only for the sake of consistency, to repeal the prohibition, and allow the English farmer to grow tobacco if he finds his profit in it. Two objections have been urged against this measure. It is said that the soil and climate are not adapted to tobacco-planting. We do not believe they are fitted for the culture of a very fine species; but that good tobacco might be grown is clear, from the evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons.* It is grown in Holland; and the evidence showed, that ours was better than the Dutch. It is said to require very good land, and Mr Arthur Young states the expense of the rent and planting an acre at five pounds each; the value of the crop being, at an average, fifteen pounds. Certainly, unless the cultivation is peculiarly costly, this is a very valuable crop; it is equal to a wheat crop at the high price of 100s., and it cannot be a very scourging crop, for the evidence describes it as always followed by wheat. Mr Young's reasons for believing that it could not be grown to advantage, resolve themselves very much into the difficulty of the process, and the inferiority of British to Virginia tobacco. But there seems no reason to doubt that the former could be got over, and that the latter would be balanced by its greater cheapness, which would adapt it to the consumption of the lower classes. At all events, the history of the prohibition shows, that there was at one time a very material advantage to be derived from this kind of tillage; and the removal of the penalties would best show, whether it could now be turned to account upon an extended scale. The only other reason against this measure is, the apprehension that the revenue might suffer. About two millions a year are raised upon tobacco by customs and excise; and it is said that a lower duty would be necessary to protect the tobacco home growth. There seems reason to believe, however, that

* The Select Committee on Seeds, Wool and Tobacco.

the same duty being imposed, the saving of the expense of the voyage would be sufficient to give the preference required; and the slighest attention to the structure of the acts for raising duties upon hops will suffice to prove, that tobacco-grounds might be subjected, without any difficulty, to a similar duty. * In the midst of our present agricultural distresses, no experiment should be hastily rejected, which promises a fair chance of success, unless it can be shown that serious risk would be incurred by trying it. In the present case it should seem, that the simple failure of the experiment is the worst effect that could follow from making it.

Nothing in the whole compass of our domestic policy demands more imperiously the attention of the Legislature, than the state of the Poor-laws; and more especially at the present moment. The severity with which the operation of these laws has been felt, we have already had an opportunity of noticing; they, in fact, throw upon the land the whole burthen, and wholly prevent the equal distribution of any temporary difficulties among the different branches of the community. It is impossible to conceive a more injurious plan to all parties, than the present mode of maintaining paupers. The landholder pays most unequally. Not only he supports the poor whom the manufacturer brings upon the neighbourhood, but he lowers the wages of all labour at his own single cost. Moreover, he pays his proportion of this cost, not in respect of the occasion he himself has for labour, but in respect of the circumstances of his land; so that the proprietor of a farm which is easily cultivated, from the land being good or chiefly in grass, pays much more than one whose farm requires great labour to cultivate, and is of very inferior value; the former, in fact, paying for labour which he never uses; the latter having his labour cheap at his neighbour's expense. To the poor themselves, and to the lower orders, generally, the effects of the system are most prejudicial. It has gone far to ruin their character, by lowering their independent spirit; and if it does not directly encourage idleness and improvidence, it removes the most powerful incentives to economy and industry. The magnitude of the evil, already enormous, is daily increasing: This is its essential nature; within its bosom are the means of constant and rapid expansion; nor can any man tell what a height it may attain, if no obstacle be offered to stay its progress. A change in the law itself, or even

* See particularly 9 Ann. c. 12. See also the arrangements for raising the duties on *manufactured* tobacco. 29 Geo. III. c. 68.

such an improvement of it as would check its abuse, would confer the most lasting benefits upon the country, and would speedily bring relief to the distresses of the agricultural body. First, suppose the law were to remain unaltered, but were only restored to its original intendment, relief would be given with a far more sparing hand to the poor, whom no natural incapacity prevented from working; the wages of labour would no longer be made up, as they now are, partly of pay and partly of parish relief; and the charge of maintaining the poor would be borne by the gains of trade, by the income of professions, and by the profits of money lent at interest to the government or to individuals, as well as by the rent of land. Such was unquestionably the original intention of the Legislature; but to recal the practice to a conformity with the law, new enactments would be required, especially in order to obtain from the various sorts of income, an assessment proportioned to their amount. But it is manifest, that the means are within our power, of applying a more radical cure to this great vice in our political system. The Poor-laws, or their perversion, having destroyed all scruples in the minds of the people about receiving parish relief, they now calculate upon this as a source of their support, and contract marriages, in the certainty that their offspring must be provided for. The ordinary checks of prudence which used formerly to prevent a couple from marrying, until they had a fair and reasonable prospect of providing for their family, are now wholly removed. Until the habits of the people are brought back to what they once were, this freedom from all restraint multiplies yearly the numbers of the poor; and as there is no probability of any such change being effected, as long as the cause of the evil remains, the only conceivable method of eradicating that cause effectually, ought in wisdom to be adopted before it is too late. There may be objections to withdrawing relief from persons already entitled to receive it;—there may likewise be reasons for not withholding it from the children of marriages already contracted;—but there can be no good reason against refusing it to children of marriages hereafter to be contracted, giving previously a certain notice, that, from a particular date, the couples who may chuse to marry, must look to themselves alone for the support of their children. This arrangement, the strictly legitimate consequence of the principles so clearly developed by Mr Malthus, would with absolute certainty remedy the great evil so justly complained of. It would gradually, but not very slowly, effect its purpose;—its operation would begin to be felt almost immediately, and in little more than twenty years it would leave no poor to be provided for,

except those who are incapable of working, from accident, disease, or age. There may be a question whether even these ought not to be left dependent upon private charity, but, at all events, the poor from want of employment, should look to this source of support alone.

It is usual to reckon the burthen of Tythes as standing on the same footing with poors' rates, and to view them both as taxes upon the land. This, however, is inaccurate; the rate is strictly a tax or impost upon the rent of land; the tythe is a part of the gross produce which never belonged to the landowner, but was always the property of another person, viz. the church or the lay impropriator. It may be doubted, then, how far this subject enters into the question immediately before us: certain it is, that the principal effect produced by tythes is in the discouragement of cultivation, where capital is to be laid out in improvements. But as there can be no doubt that any arrangement would be beneficial which might relieve the cultivator from the vexation attendant upon the present divided tenure of his property, perhaps the existing distresses are a sufficient ground for discussing the subject in connexion with the points under consideration.

The peculiar kind of joint tenure, by which the tythe owner and the landholder possess together, gives rise to all the anomalies and inconveniences of the present system. Both have an interest in the produce, but one only is burdened with the expense of raising it; and the interest which one of the proprietors has in his share, is quite different from that which induces the other to adopt the line of conduct which is most for the benefit of the land; for it is a life interest, and the party in possession has no regard for the reversioner. We speak now of spiritual persons;—lay impropriators are in a somewhat different predicament, although it is clear that they show a regard to the interests of the land over which their rights extend, far inferior to that of other proprietors. In truth, neither lay impropriators, nor spiritual persons ever consider themselves as landowners, properly so called. To put an end to this species of joint tenantry, so prejudicial to improvement, so pregnant with inconvenience to all parties, and so fertile in disputes between the clergyman and his flock, utterly inconsistent with the comfort of the one, and the instruction of the other, seems the object of all plans that have been devised for the commutation of tythe. But there seem to be objections of a peculiar nature against any compulsory change of the system. It is an interference with the rights of property; and this must never be thought of, unless upon grounds which entitle the legislature to interpose for the plain and manifest advantage of the whole community. We do

not contend that there is any thing more inviolable in tythes than in other property; on the contrary, the legislature has repeatedly interfered with it, for the obvious benefit of the country. By the statute of Edward VI. barren land was exempted from tythe for seven years, although the Church's right of property to the tythe, was as unquestionable during those years, as at any other time; but it was plainly the interest of the Church, as well as the rest of the community, that the insuperable obstacle to improving waste lands should be removed; and the Church, but for its removal, had little or no chance of ever receiving tythe from those wastes at all. Madder has been exempted altogether from the payment of tythe, upon a principle somewhat different; not that the real interest of the Church, as in the former case, required such an interference with its property, but because the expense of cultivating madder is so great, as to prevent it altogether, if it pays any tythe; and consequently the Church, if it gains nothing, at least cannot be said to lose any thing by the entire exemption. In Scotland, our readers well know, the change which freed the land-owner for ever from tythe (or *teind*) was effected somewhat hastily, and with very little management, by a monarch as scrupulous in his regard for the Church, and as much cherished by her in return, as ever sat upon the throne. The preamble of the famous *Decreet-Arbitral* of Charles I. in 1629, sets forth, that it is 'expedient for the wellbeing of the 'realm, the better providing of kirks and stipends, and the esta-'blishment of schools and other pious uses, that each heritor '(proprietor) shall have and enjoy his own teind;' and therefore decrees, that all teinds shall be valued and sold according to certain rules for making the estimate. This was ratified in Parliament by the act 1633, cap. 17. Such a summary abolition of tythes, so quietly assented to, forms one of the most extraordinary events in the history of ecclesiastical affairs; and it is to be regretted that so little light has been thrown by historians upon the steps by which the change was brought about, and the causes which predisposed all parties in so religious an age and country to acquiesce in it. We are far from recommending any violent proceeding of this kind to the sister kingdoms, any more than we should wish to see England follow the example of that never-to-be-lamented Irish Parliament, which first by a vote of the Commons, and afterwards by a law, at once abolished tythe of agistment as unconstitutional, and ruinous to the Protestant interest. We only quote these passages in ecclesiastical history, by way of proving that church rights, how sacred soever, have been encroached upon by the legislature in every part of the United Kingdom, when the common weal required the infringement.

Various measures have been suggested, for gradually and justly effecting a change in this oppressive branch of the public economy. According to our view of the subject, that plan is the most consistent, both with fairness and wisdom, which aims only at giving facilities for every kind of bargain between the land-owners and the proprietors of the tythe. The parson and the owner cannot, as the law now stands, make any bargain which shall be in force beyond the incumbency of the former. It seems an obvious, and at the same time a safe change, to allow such bargains, under restraints which may prevent the incumbent from sacrificing, for an advantage to himself, the future interests of the living. If all leases of tythes, for example, were good, which should be granted for one and twenty years, with the consent of the patron and ordinary, there seems no reason to apprehend any improvident use of the Church revenue, while the land-owner would have one way afforded him of obtaining a relief from his burthen. But it might be safe, under similar restrictions, to allow of bargains for the total redemption of tythe, the mode of effecting the commutation being pointed out by other legislative restrictions. Thus, it might be required that the price to be paid, or a certain proportion of it, should be a reserved corn rent; and as the Church is entitled, not merely to a compensation of tythes, at the present time payable, but for those which new enclosures, or improvements of old lands, may create, the probable increase might be taken into the account, in estimating the price of redemption; or, should such a calculation be found impossible, an arrangement might be made, for reviewing, at stated periods, the terms of the bargain, and awarding an increase, according to the change that should have taken place in the interval. The investment in land, of the price to be paid, where the redemption was effected without a rent, would obviate much of this difficulty; for the Church would then benefit by the improvement of the estate so purchased. Transactions of this kind have been carried into effect in some parts of England, by means of private bills; and, in the late discussions upon the subject, instances were mentioned, of bills for enabling the parties to levy a rate, in order to make up what was deficient in a fund raised by the sale of waste lands; and, even where there was no waste to be appropriated for the purpose, a case was said to have arisen, of a redemption being effected by a rate levied for the purpose of raising a sum to be invested in the purchase of an estate for the parson. The expense of such bills, and, still more, the difficulty of binding persons who may at one moment agree to apply for them, and, the next, draw back, as soon as others have come into the

plan, presents the greatest obstacles to this method becoming general. But nothing could be easier than to allow parties to bind themselves, without the costs of a bill, and thus to enable any considerable number of tythe-payers to conclude a bargain with the parson, under the inspection of the patron and ordinary. It is probable that, at first, no very great number of such transactions would take place, nor would it be desirable that there should; as the price of land would thereby advance in a manner unfavourable to the design of the parties. But as soon as the advantages of the scheme were perceived, the practice would spread; and it is probable, that, in the course of a few years, the commutation would be effected in every part of the country where the evils of the present system are the most severely felt.

The objections to such plans are chiefly founded upon an alarm for the temporal interests of the Church. But those interests seem to be safely entrusted to the parties who have the management of all other ecclesiastical concerns. It can hardly be supposed that the patron and ordinary should consent to the spoliation of a benefice, even if the incumbent were prevailed upon to sacrifice its future emoluments for a temporary advantage to himself. The principle of commutation has been extensively acted upon in many instances. When commons are enclosed, the usual practice is, to allot a certain part to the parson in lieu of tythe, and to give him, by the enclosure act, powers of leasing and raising money for enabling him to turn his share to account. Nor is it uncommon to allot an additional share of the waste, in order to relieve the old enclosures in the parish from tythe. No one ever supposed, that the concerns of the Church were put in jeopardy by such compacts; on the contrary, the value of livings has always been greatly raised by them, while improvements were carried on, which the payment of tythe would for ever have prevented. It has been apprehended by some, that such arrangements would convert clergymen into farmers. This, however, is not found to be the case where the experiment has been tried; they have let their lands to farm like other landlords; and, indeed, if a parson is disposed to cultivate the ground himself, he may do so as a farmer under the present laws. At all events, the injury arising from his so doing, is a very doubtful one; the occupation is innocent, and it is not degrading; and his dignity and usefulness suffer much less by it than by the perpetual disputes with his flock, which arise from the tythe system. We are unwilling to pursue this interesting subject further at present, than to remark, that if any serious evils were found to arise from the change, the law

might be revised, and the facilities of making bargains (which alone we are recommending) might be withdrawn, or modified as the result of experience should prescribe.

The last point to which we shall call the reader's attention, in treating of the remedies for the present distresses, is the grand evil of Excessive Taxation. Unless means are speedily devised for lightening this intolerable burthen, all other methods of relief appear to be unavailing. The revenue of sixty-five millions which our permanent peace establishment is to cost, exceeds, by a great deal, what can be borne by the land, from which so much of it immediately is drawn, upon which so much more ultimately and most unequally falls. Above forty millions of this prodigious sum is for the interest of the debt, and the expense of reducing it. Does any man doubt that a large part of this may well be spared? Some have proposed to abate the interest; but the proposition has created alarm in the public mind. * No objection of the least weight has ever been urged against diminishing the amount of the sinking fund. Six or seven millions of it might be taken without even materially affecting the price of stocks, as we have fully explained in a former Number; and taxes to this amount might, in consequence, be taken off. Why, then, it may be asked, does not the Government adopt a measure which the distresses of the country so loudly call for? The reason is plain:—The Ministers are resolved to keep up an enormous and unprecedented peace establishment; and, as they have not the means of paying for it by the produce of the taxes, over and above the sum raised for the interest and charges of the debt, ‡ they are determined to reserve the sinking fund, in order to use it in paying for this establishment. At present, the pretext for not touching the sinking fund is, that they cannot relieve the whole country at the expense of the stockholder;—a vain and hollow deceit;—for the stockholder would suffer nothing by the change. But the truth is, that they will not lower the peace expenses of the country; and to keep those at nearly their present amount, they are prepared, both to maintain the unbearable load of our present taxation, and to encroach upon the sinking fund.

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* See this subject handled ably in the pamphlet upon the Income Tax, by the Reverend Mr Glover—by far the best tract to which that question gave rise.

‡ The ways and means of this year have been made up of a surplus unapplied from last year's votes and loans from the Bank.

Art. II. *The History of Persia, from the most early Period to the present Time: Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom.* By Colonel Sir John Malcolm, K.C.B., K.L.S., late Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, from the Supreme Government of India. In Two Volumes. 1815.

If we neglect the fluctuating limits of transitory possession, and look only to the landmarks placed by nature, the boundaries of the Persian empire seem distinctly traced by the courses of the Indus, the Oxus and the Tigris; the shores of the Caspian, and the arid tracts which skirt the Indian Ocean. The primitive inhabitants of this extensive region, too, have in all ages been advantageously distinguished from the adjacent nations. Their tall and graceful persons are neither disfigured by the harsh features of the Arabian physiognomy, nor the darker tints of their Indian neighbours. Their skill in horsemanship, their expertness at military exercises, the acuteness of their understanding, and the vivacity of their conversation, appear at all times to have merited praise; whilst their insincerity and falsehood, the usual vices of slaves, seem as justly to have attracted censure. In all these respects nothing is changed. They are still richly endowed with the gifts of nature; but the invariable laws of the Medes and Persians have decreed, that despotism, in its most pernicious form, should defeat the objects of her bounty; and that, with less glory, less wealth, and less enjoyment, the subjects of Futteh Ali Khan, at the present day, should display the same natural talents, and the same inherent defects, which marked the slaves of Darius, dispersed through twenty satrapies.

The origin and remote affinities of nations are soon lost in obscurity. Yet, of all historical monuments, the least disputable, and most enduring, is its language. The modern language of Persia is the offspring of the antient Pehlavi, itself a descendant of the still more venerable Zend. We consider this language as having existed, in its present form, only since the Arabian conquest, and the Pehlavi to have prevailed from the time of Arbaces the Mede, who threw off the Assyrian domination. The writers who have treated of the intermediate period, always consider the Zend as a sacred language, confined to religious ceremonies, and of the highest antiquity. For the slender means we possess of judging of the Zend and Pehlavi, we are solely indebted to M. Anquetil du Perron. The result of an examination will demonstrate, that the languages of

Persia and India were, at one period, the same, or kindred dialects of one original tongue; and the resemblance is the most striking in the most antient specimens. Yet it is sufficient to turn up a modern Persic dictionary, in order to discover, that innumerable words are regularly derived from Sanscrit roots of similar import; or a modern grammar, to trace the same inflexions buried in the more complex structure of the Sanscrit. Many Persian words, names and titles, preserved by Greek writers, and which are destitute of meaning in modern Persic, present a distinct and appropriate sense in the cognate language. The fact, indeed, is little calculated to excite surprise, as the two countries are contiguous. Had the antient records of Persia been transmitted to an enlightened age; or did the traditions which survive, without replacing them, merit the name of history, we might expect to see unfolded the nature of that connexion which spread the language of the Brahmans from the shores of the Brahmaputra to the banks of the Tigris; and to ascertain whether it was unaccompanied with any of the remarkable institutions, which have, in all ages, distinguished the sons of Brahma.

The work which has given occasion to these observations, contains one unbroken chain of narrative, deduced from the first dawn of civilization to the present day, and extracted from native sources. This immense undertaking is rendered still more complete, by a very comprehensive view of the actual state of Persia, derived from personal observation, aided by all the resources of diplomacy, and all the advantages of a perfect acquaintance with the language. Detached portions of Persian history have long been before the public, but these have never been assailed by the touchstone of criticism. The eminently useful, but unreadable work of D'Herbelot, terminates with the reign of Shahrokh in A. D. 1446. Since that period, all we know of Persia is derived from the unconnected accounts of travellers, merchants and missionaries, with the exception of the reign of Shah Nadir. The ample vacancies left by these defective sources of information, are ably supplied in the work before us, which we consider an important acquisition to the stock of general knowledge, and an honourable addition to the literary fame of the country which has produced it.

We are informed by Herodotus, that the Medes were originally called Arii, an appellation which they afterwards changed for that of Medi. It is very remarkable, that whilst the first name continues at this day to designate the whole of the extensive country whose limits we have traced, the latter name of Medi is scarcely to be met with in the writings of any native historian.

We say, scarcely; for although the fact is little known, there still exist Persian documents which mention the Medes. Airan, (which, though thus spelt, is pronounced Iran), is the name of Persia from the earliest times to the present day. In the inscription at Taki Bostam, deciphered by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, Shahpur styles himself, king of kings, of Iran and Aniran. We had ventured in a former Number to state our conjecture, that the Arii were so named from the Sanscrit word Aria, respectable; an epithet which the Hindus familiarly apply to themselves; and which they would not scruple to extend to any nation divided into four casts. We were pleased to find our conjecture confirmed by the unsuspected testimony of Mula Firoz, a fire-worshipper of Bombay, who informed our author, that the title assumed by Shahpur was, 'king of believers and of unbelievers,' in Sanscrit Aria, and Anaria. The herd of writers who servilely copy Ferdosi, pretend indeed that the name of Airan, is derived from Airaj, a son of Faridun:—but the whole story in which this is found is manifestly fabulous.

From the elevation of Dejoces to the throne of Persia until the Macedonian conquest, the political revolutions of Persia have been traced by the historians of Greece. The singular attempt of Richardson, to gain credit to the meagre and fabulous traditions of the modern Persians, in opposition to the clear and concurrent testimonies of nearly contemporaneous Greek writers, can only be regarded in the light of an ingenious paradox, destitute of any solid foundation. Yet the accounts of the Greeks, and the traditions of the Persians, appear at first sight completely at variance. Neither the series of events, nor the names of the actors, display the slightest coincidence; and the admission of the one appears virtually to banish the other to the regions of chimera. General Malcolm does not undertake the perilous task of reconciling the historians of the east and west. He admits that the Persians possess no documents that merit the name of history, antecedent to the fall of the Arsacidæ. Yet if we admit the lucid arrangement of facts, as digested by our author according to a system now proposed for the first time, we shall be able, in a very great number of instances, to refer the traditionary narratives of the eastern writers, to their actual prototypes in authentic history. It proceeds on this most allowable postulatum, that little reliance is to be placed on similarity of name. Many of these names were probably titles; and it is obvious, that Herodotus, Ctesias, and Moses of Chorene all disagree in the names of the Persian monarchs. In preference, therefore, to this fallible criterion, we should assume similarity of character, person, or adventures. The exposure of a prince by his

maternal grandfather; his being saved by the minister; and bred up in concealment by shepherds, marks the identity of Cyrus and Khosru. The bodily deformity of hands with fingers reaching below the knee, readily betrays Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the disguise of Ardeshir Derazdest. Some of these coincidences, indeed, had long since been indicated by Sir William Jones; but that great scholar had not extended his attention to the whole series of monarchs. The attempt is certainly exposed to objections: but, unless we greatly mistake, no system can be adopted that is open to so few, or where the coincidences are so frequent or so happy. Should it be considered satisfactory, it may instruct us in the mode in which the ravages of time operates in defacing the history of nations: Brilliant eras, and successful monarchs, outlive its depredations; the memory and names of the obscure and unfortunate are blotted from the page.

The fragments of Persian history, which in the form of traditions were carried down the stream of time, reached Firdousi. It was unfortunate that a poet should be the collector. It was still more so, that, ignorant of the immense chasms in his materials, or unwilling that they should be suspected by others, he has joined together facts widely remote, and stated, as consecutive, what time and circumstances had placed at a distance. If our readers can suppose a period, when the history of England shall be known to its inhabitants only by tradition, and the names and memory of the unfortunate princes Richard I. and John completely forgotten, but some particulars of their reigns, and the whole length of them added to that of Henry II., of whom Henry III. is declared son and successor, they will then be qualified to appreciate the nature and extent of the errors which have been transmitted by Persian writers, under the name of history. They continue to disfigure their narrative until the overthrow of the Arsacidæ. The errors of Firdousi, indeed, are lost in the animation and beauty of his versification. His prose copyists must find their excuse in their admiration of Firdousi.

The first dynasty of Persian kings is that of the Peshdad, from two words, signifying 'former benefactors.' It commences with the origin of the empire, and terminates with the period of anarchy which preceded the elevation of Dejoces to the throne, about the year 696 before Christ. The first name which occurs on the list is that of Cayumrath. Mohamedan writers value themselves exceedingly on their knowledge of genealogy. Even in times much more recent, no considerable person must be introduced, without tracing his pedigree back to Noah. In the present instance the difficulty was not great; for

Mirkhond informs us, quite positively, that 'Cayumrath was 'the son of Shem, son of Noah,—may the blessing of God rest 'on both!' Firdousi, on the other hand, who professes to follow Pehlavi records, in which the names of the patriarchs do not occur, furnishes no pedigree; but says he was the first king who governed the earth. We must, however, remark, that in calling him the first king, Firdousi has certainly mistaken the genuine traditions of the Guebers. Both the Zendavesta, and Beharam, priest of the fire temple at Shahpur, represent him as the first human being. His name in Sanscrit, Cayamrit, signifies body of clay; which seems also to be meant by his Persian title of Gilshah, or king of clay. The priest above quoted, accordingly, places Hushang, a remote descendant of Cayumrath, at the head of the Peshdad.

The empire of Airan was at this time occupied by the Devas. In our remarks on Moore's Pantheon, we ventured to state our reasons for concluding that these magicians were Brahmans,—for whom Deva is one of the most common appellations at this day. The reign of Hushang, and of his successor Tahmiras, was spent in endeavours to expel them. In our review of the publication above referred to, we showed that they were not altogether unknown to the western world; and cited a passage from Suidas, with a parallel one from the Shah Nama, to prove that they both alluded to the same event, the introduction of fire worship, which Hushang probably substituted for the idolatrous rites of the Brahmans. Suidas calls Hushang, Perseus; and Tahmuras he calls Merrhus.

To the next prince, who far exceeded his predecessors in magnificence and glory, and to whom the majestic ruins of Persepolis are attributed by his credulous countrymen, Persian writers have assigned the name of Jemshid, or Ajemshid, and a reign of 700 years. The name appears to have been Ajem; for 'shid' is expressly stated to be an epithet, signifying brilliant. Instead of persecuting the Devas, he availed himself of their superior science in the construction of magnificent edifices, and for the instruction of his subjects in literature and the arts. By the universal concurrence of Persian writers, he divided his people into four casts; thus adopting one of the most remarkble institutions of the Devas. His treasures, his magnificence, and the splendour of his reign, are still proverbial amongst his countrymen, and were long celebrated by western nations.

> '*Num tu, quæ tenuit dives* Achæmenes,
> *Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes*
> *Permutare velis crine Liciniæ?*'

'Jem jah,' magnificent; as 'Jem' is the expression daily ap-

plied at this time to persons distinguished by munificence. In the latter part of his reign, he disseminated idolatry amongst his subjects, and was driven from the throne by the Assyrian invasion. In his flight, he captivated the affections of a princess of Zabul; and her posterity, like a future race of Persian monarchs, might boast their descent from Achæmenes.

In reviewing these antient fables we may remark, that in the reign of Ajem the history of a dynasty is included; and we are authorized by Baharam, the priest of Shapur, to reduce its duration from 700 to 116 years. Western historians have recorded little concerning the state of Persia previously to the Assyrian conquest. Some fabulous particulars concerning Perseus and Andromeda, and some concerning Jason and Medea, the latter of whom gave her name to the Arii, include almost all that Grecian tradition has preserved of their antient transactions. These last seem even to gain the assent of the sceptical Strabo, extorted by the monuments still existing in his time, which attested their residence in that country. Ctesias, whose names seldom accord with those of other writers, calls the last king of the Medes who resisted the invasion, Pharnus; and states that he fell in battle.

The Assyrian domination is typified in the Persian traditions, under the form of a blood-thirsty tyrant, tormented by two insatiable dragons, sprung from his shoulders in punishment of his crimes; and from whose tortures a momentary relief only could be procured, by the application of human brains. Its duration is stated by Ctesias at 1360 years; Paterculus gives it 1070; and Herodotus 520 years. According to the Persians, the reign of Zohac, or the Dragon, was 1000 years: his residence was not in Persia, but at Nuvehet, an immense city on the banks of the Tigris; in which it is easy to recognise the antient Niniveh.

The hero who led the Median youth to the banks of the Tigris, and, after a long siege, conducted with various success, overthrew the Assyrian dominion, or the tyranny of Zohac, is named Arbaces by Diodorus. Moses of Chorene in one place calls him Varbaces, and in another Rhodanus. Velleius Paterculus calls him Pharnaces, and the modern Persians Feridun. This conqueror is said to have married an Assyrian princess. Moses of Chorene, therefore, calls his descendants 'Stirps Draconis.' The widow of Astyages he also calls Draconum Mater: —the name of Astyages being manifestly a corruption of Azdehac, which signifies a dragon. Diodorus has supplied no details of the reign of Arbaces; and those afforded by the Persians are manifestly fabulous.

The names of the four descendants of Arbaces, who succeeded him on the throne, is all that is transmitted to us by the Greeks, previously to the period of anarchy which preceded the elevation of Dejoces. The Persians supply the same number of sovereigns during that interval, and satisfactorily account for the anarchy by a Scythian invasion, which during the space of twelve years spread confusion and terror through the empire of Airan. If, as Sir William Jones supposes, the Pehlavi language differed from the Zend, chiefly in an admixture of Assyrian words, it may be inferred, that the Zend was the language of Persia anterior to the Assyrian conquest, and the introduction of the Pehlavi a consequence of that event.

In recording the obscure traditions, which the modern Persians consider as the primeval history of their country, we have not thought it necessary to advert to the pretended discoveries of Mohsun Fani, promulgated in the Dahistan. This writer, a native of India, who lived in the middle of the 17th century, asserts, that from the perusal of Pehlavi records, and his conversations with persons who secretly adhered to the doctrines of Hushang, he had discovered that a dynasty of princes, named the Mahabadian, had, during an immense number of ages, ruled the empire of Airan, before the birth of Cayumrath, whom the Moslems consider as the first king, and the Guebers as the first created human being. It would ill become us to speak dogmatically of a work honoured with the approbation of Sir William Jones; yet we may be permitted to remark, that Mohsun Fani has merely given a transcript of the Indian system, in which we trace the fourteen Menus under other names, governing the earth during cycles of years; and the four yugas or ages, during which mankind gradually sink deeper in vice and misery. He produces no authority for his facts; nor explains how the discovery of so large a portion of primeval history was reserved for the seventeenth century, and for a native of Cashmir. Yet what inducement, it may be asked, could influence Mohsun Fani to invent statements so extraordinary? To this, we apprehend, a very obvious answer may be given. The Dahistan was composed during the reign of the great Mogul, Shah Gehan. The eldest son of this monarch was first universally suspected, and afterwards publicly accused of a design, either to explode, or at least very materially to alter, the Mohamedan system of faith. By a reference to our review of M. Anquetil du Perron's translation of the Upanishat, in which we have given a copious extract from the preface written by the Prince Dara Shecah, the nature of the speculations in which he indulged may be very clearly collected: and they certainly give plausibility to the charges brought against

him. They at least prove, that tenets the most repugnant to those of the Coran, found in him a complacent disciple. Now the disquisitions of Mohsun Fani on the twelve different religions were equally calculated to excite the curiosity, and to kindle the munificence of a prince of this disposition: and they supply an instructive specimen of the studies fashionable at the learned court of Dara Shecah.

The second dynasty is that of the Caian, or of princes who had the title of Caï (a word of unascertained signification), prefixed to their name. It commences with the elevation of Dejoces to the throne in 696, and terminates with the Macedonian conquest and the death of Darius in 330 before Christ. It embraces, in short, the whole of that period, during which the history of Persia is preserved by the historians of Greece. Our readers may not be unwilling to see the manner in which sovereigns, whose names are familiar to them from childhood, are honoured or forgotten by the historians of their own country.

1*st*, Dejoces raised to the throne during a period of anarchy, which in the course of a long reign he effectually succeeded in repressing, cannot be mistaken in the person of Caï Cobad. Ctesias names him Arsæus; and this we conceive was really his name, for the author of the Bahman Nama calls him Arsh. The name of Dejoces, assigned to him by Herodotus, appears to be a corruption of Zohac, and to indicate his Assyrian extraction,—his descent from the gens draconiana, as Moses of Chorene styles them.

2*d*, Phraortes is totally omitted in the list of Median monarchs. He subjected the province of Fars to the Median yoke, and fell at the siege of Niniveh. Few oriental historians ever heard of the Medes, or knew that Persia constituted an independent principality. In the Majamlat ut Tuarikh, however, a work distinguished by the originality of its information, we find that 'some historians assure us that Caï Caus was son of Aphra, and grandson of Cobad; but the truth is, he was son of the latter.' Without this casual information, discredited by the author who cites it, we might in vain have sought the Persian records for the name of Phraortes.

3*d*, Cyaxares. This prince is identified with Caïcaus, by the eclipse predicted by Thales, whilst engaged in battle with the Lydians. This eclipse the Persians have converted into a supernatural blindness, the effect of magic, which seized him and his army in the midst of the engagement. Totally ignorant of the Lydians, they have disfigured the facts connected with this event. Another coincidence is the invasion of Persia by the

Scythians, whilst this prince was engaged in a distant expedition.

4*th*, Astyages, the last of the Medes, is unknown to Persian tradition. Yet the circumstances of his reign, connected with the birth, exposure, and concealment of Cyrus, are related without essential variation; and are attributed to a king of Scythia, whom they consider as the maternal grandfather of that hero. We have already stated, that his name is an obvious corruption of Azdehac, a dragon.

5*th*, Cyrus. The romantic events of his infancy and youth, and the brilliant exploits of his reign, betray this hero under the name of Khosru. We may remark, that national vanity appears to have had little share in thus defacing the Persian records; for no details of his conquests are given, excepting those which relate to his dethroning his grandfather. It is stated generally, that he subdued all the adjacent countries, that he carried his arms into distant regions, and that in his reign the empire of Airan attained its highest aggrandizement. His fame, too, is stated to have surpassed that of all preceding and subsequent monarchs. The Moslems assert, that he is considered as a prophet by the Guebers.

6*th*, Cambyses and Smerdis Magus. In his comparison of Grecian history with Persian traditions, our author has hitherto been supported by similarity of character and circumstance, or by the accidental discovery of chasms in the Persian accounts. But here native historians present nothing analogous to the facts recorded by the Greeks. The frantic Cambyses, and the Magus who for a short time personated his brother, are utterly unknown to the chroniclers of Persia.

In their room, we are told that Lohorasp succeeded to the throne by the will of Khosru, being the grandson of a brother of Caïcaus. Two circumstances alone bear any resemblance to the events which really occurred at this period. 1st, We are informed, that a general of Lohorasp conducted a successful expedition into remote regions in the west, during which he laid waste Jerusalem—vestiges, in all likelihood, of the invasion and conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. 2d, The death of Lohorasp, like that of Smerdis Magus, was attended with a general massacre of the Magi. This prince had resigned his throne to his son Kyshtasp (Darius Hystaspes), and retired to Balkh (Bactria), where he had erected a pyræum, to end his days in devotion. When Kyshtasp adopted the religion of Zorodast, Balkh became the chief theatre of the new rites. The King of Scythia, to put a period to this impiety, attacked Balkh, overthrew the pyræa, and massacred the Magi who officiated in them. Lohorasp, who had become a proselyte and a

priest, fell with the others. The Magophonia, or general massacre of the Magi, at the death of Smerdis Magus, (who is called Oropastes, evidently the same with Lohorasp, by Justin), is attested by Herodotus. These circumstances combined, seem to prove that the incorrect traditions of the Persians relate to this period of their history.

7th, Darius Hystaspes is called Kyshtasp by the Persians. Ferdousi gives some marvellous stories of his expedition into the countries between the Euxine and Caspian: but it is astonishing that the great feature of his reign, the change which he effected in the religion of his country, is passed over in silence by the father of history, although occurring almost in his own time. The account which Herodotus gives of the religion of the ancient Persians, relates to the period antecedent to Darius. It is impossible to doubt that the last of the Zoroasters flourished at the court of Darius, converted that Prince and the whole of the reigning family to his doctrines, and that their zeal and example soon spread them over the whole empire.

8th, Xerxes. The name and reign of this unfortunate monarch is blotted from the page of Persian history. Kyshtasp had a son called Aspendiar, who was declared successor during his father's lifetime. His distant expeditions into remote countries in the West, and his extraordinary adventures there, furnish the theme of many Persian romances, and are mentioned by historians, though without any details. According to them, however, all this occurred in the reign of Kyshtasp, who survived his son. The name of Spendadates occurs in Ctesias about this time; though applied to a different person, it is probably the same word which the modern Persians have converted into Aspendiar.

9th, Artaxerxes Longimanus. The deformity of hands reaching below the knee, demonstrates this monarch to be Ardeshir the Long-handed. He was son of Aspendiar, son of Kyshtasp. He is called also Bahman, a word without meaning in modern Persic, but in Sanscrit, (and probably in Zend), it signifies 'possessed of arms,' alluding to the length of his. The traditions of his country have assigned to Artaxerxes, a reign of 112 years. This period, however, evidently comprises not only his own reign, but those of his successors, the short-lived Xerxes II., Sogdian, the reign of 19 years of Darius Ochus, and the long and luxurious rule of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The names of the three first are entirely overlooked by the native historians, and the last is confounded with his grandfather, the first Artaxerxes. The existence of this chasm in their tradition is demonstrated by the incestuous loves of Artaxerxes Mnemon and his daughter, a fact recorded by Persian historians; who add, in equal contradiction to truth

and probability, that this Princess succeeded her father on the throne, which she ultimately resigned to her son. This son, whom they call Darab, from a fabulous narrative of his exposure by his mother, in order to conceal her incestuous amours, and whose adventures bear no similarity to those recorded of Artaxerxes Ochus, occupies, in Persian writers, the interval before the accession of Dara II. The conquest of Persia by Alexander, and the termination of the dynasty of Caïan, establish his identity with Darius Codomannus.

From this collation (we fear a tedious one) of the monarchs recorded by Grecian writers, with their respective representatives in Persian traditions, from the election of Dejoces to the death of Darius, it appears, that of 18 Princes who reigned successively in Persia, the names of 10 are totally unknown to the historians of that country. The same period presents only one instance of interpolation, in the pretended reign of the daughter of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Would it be rash to infer, that such is the usual operation of time on the history of ancient dynasties; and that the oblivion of short or inglorious reigns is more naturally to be expected, than the interpolation of imaginary ones?

The history of the Arsacidæ, or the Ashcadian dynasty, presents only an obviously mutilated catalogue of proper names. In the year 250 before Christ, Arsaces, or Ashe, took possession of Hyrcania (Jorjan), from the Seleucidæ, and founded the dynasty named from him. It was subverted by Ardeshir Babegan in A. D. 226. Scarcely any particulars are recorded of the events of these five centuries. Ferdousi overlooks it entirely, and passes at once from the death of Alexander to the rise of Ardeshir, only remarking, that the intervening period was one of confusion and anarchy, during which many petty sovereigns ruled contemporaneously in certain provinces, of whom none acquired the undisputed supremacy of the whole empire. These Princes are now known to Eastern nations, by the Arabic (and consequently recent) appellation of Maluc al Tuaif, or Kings of tribes. They probably called themselves Parthæ, a word which may be derived from Partha, a sovereign, in Sanscrit. Yet these petty sovereigns, as they are now considered by their countrymen, occasionally carried their arms to the shores of the Mediterranean, defeated Crassus, and alarmed Rome herself, in the plenitude of her power.

Ardeshir Babegan traced his pedigree from Sasan, a descendant of one of the Caïan family; and the dynasty which he founded retains the name of Sasanian. From his victory over Arduan, the last of the Arsacidæ, in A. D. 226, until the conquest of Persia by the Mohamedans, and flight of Yezdighird, the last of

his descendants, in A. D. 641, includes a period of 415 years. During this time, the Persian empire probably enjoyed an equal degree of power, prosperity and civilization, with that it possessed under the monarchs of the Caïan dynasty. Indeed, the sculptured rocks and ruined edifices, which, besides the page of the historian, are all that remain to attest the magnificence of the antient kings of Persia, seem, to us, all referable to this period. The name of the throne of Jemshid, now given to the mutilated columns near Persepolis, is far from convincing us that they were constructed during the reign of a monarch, who must have lived before the Assyrian invasion under Ninus. The sculptures indeed may, and most probably do, represent events long anterior to their own erection.

From the entire subjugation of Persia in the middle of the seventh, that country, during the two subsequent centuries, constituted a portion of the empire of the Caliphs. This period was sufficient to destroy the records, and nearly to extirpate the rites and doctrines of the antient Magi. Their superstitions, introduced in the time of Darius Hystaspes, and remodelled by the first of the Sasanian princes, had probably lost much of their influence, and all their zeal. New habits, a renovated vigour, and almost a new language, were the effects of conversion to Islamism. It was sudden, sincere, and universal. The Commanders of the Faithful, dissolved in the luxurious gratifications of their voluptuous palaces at Bagdad, had only to dread the infidelity of their own officers, deputed to rule the remote provinces of their immense empire. During this period, the history of Persia must be traced in the annals of the Caliphat. In the year 820, the first independent sovereignty was established in Khorasan; and from that time to the present day, the same state of society has continued to prevail, attended by a recurrence of the same events, produced by different agents.

From the defection of Tahir Zulyemnin, who governed Khorasan for the Caliph Mamun, until the dethronement of Shah Tahmasp, the last prince of the house of Sophi, in the year 1732, nine centuries elapsed. Within that eventful period, fourteen dynasties of princes rose and fell, of whom the last only retained the throne during 230 years. A few indeed were contemporaneous; and four political revolutions were the effect of invasion and conquest. Three dynasties of Tartar kings owed their thrones to the swords of their founders, Alparslan, Chenghiz Khan, and Timur; but they supported them by the permanent establishment of their rude but martial countrymen in the heart of Persia. These tribes have, ever since, constituted the most warlike part of the population, and retain, in their

adopted sites, their original language, their nomadic habits, and their devotion to their respective chiefs, to whom alone they confine their allegiance.

' *Le premier qui fut roi, fut un soldat heureux.* '

The history of all these dynasties is very nearly the same. A military leader, dissatisfied with the court, and of an enterprizing genius, attaches to his standard companions of a similar character. His first successes are rewarded by an ample spoil, which generosity or policy induces him to divide. Numbers flock to his banners. Ambition and avarice are his auxiliaries; and he has only to contend against a feeble sentiment of attachment for an unknown prince, who possibly might not possess a single quality calculated to inspire it, and whose name had furnished a sanction to every species of misrule. The people remain passive spectators of the approaching contest: and the royal phantom vanishes as soon as it is attacked. The commander, who now ceases to be a rebel, commences the functions of sovereignty. Bred up in habits of business, and inured to the conflicts of active life; aware that he possesses power by a precarious tenure, he endeavours to make himself respected as well as feared: his discipline is severe; abuses in the administration are corrected; and every department of the state rigorously scrutinized. A comparison of his rule with the luxurious indolence and effeminacy of the preceding reign, is entirely to his advantage. At his death, he transmits to his successor a throne supported by the experience of its beneficial effects, and defended by an army formidable by its numbers, its discipline, and its attachment. His son, who probably fought and conquered by the side of his father, pursues the same policy, extends his dominions, enforces his regulations, and enacts new ones, the result of experience. The kingdom becomes great and prosperous; and it is in this reign that it probably reaches the utmost elevation it is destined to attain. The third monarch of the dynasty, born to a throne, and enervated by sensual delights, retains the civil polity of his ancestors, but delegates to others the ruder task of fighting his battles. He is usually a great patron of literature, and aims at a different sort of fame. If his talents be considerable, his manners popular, and the state of the circumjacent countries favourable to tranquillity, he too is succeeded by his son, who is probably the last of the race who mounts the throne; and these Saturnian years roll round again. Such is the brief outline of a Mohamedan dynasty, on the supposition most favourable to peace, viz. that the authority of a despot survives him long enough to regulate the succession.

A tranquil succession is, however, affected by other circum-

stances. In the Turkish dominions (and the practice was followed by the later monarchs of the house of Sophi), the royal offspring continue immersed in the Haram, during the life of their father. Without partisans, without friends, without personal merit, and altogether unknown to the public, the choice of the sovereign is allowed to select from his descendants, the individual most worthy of a throne. But, in other Mohamedan states, this custom (favourable undoubtedly to the peace of the empire) has never been adopted. The young princes have usually been delegated as viceroys in distant provinces; and the whole of their subordinate sway is devoted to preparation for that contest, which naturally and almost invariably occurs on the demise of the crown. Emir Timur died in A. D. 1405. Bediazeman, the last of his posterity who reigned in Persia, was not driven from the throne until 1517; but each year of the intermediate period witnessed the sanguinary conflicts of his posterity, for a power to which each asserted an equal claim.

But the operation of those moral causes, which, in despotic states, continually tend to produce change, may be suspended by the salutary influence even of a false religion. The sacred character of the commanders of the faithful, preserved, through a long succession of degenerate princes, a limited dominion and immense pretensions to the house of Abbas, which was at last overthrown by idolatrous hands. The supposed transfer of this spiritual supremacy to the descendants of Othman still continues to regulate the succession to the Turkish throne. The house of Sophi, descended from the prophet, and sanctified by the devotion of the first Sophi, claimed and obtained the distinction of champions of Hyder, and heads of the Shiah faith. To this invisible ægis, several of his successors doubtless owed their security, when their tyranny provoked, and their effeminacy invited the progress of revolt. But this shield was only efficacious in warding off the attacks of their own sect; the orthodox Afghans deemed it meritorious to dethrone and chastize the heretical calumniators of the companions and successors of the Prophet.

In the year 1747, Nadir Shah, the conqueror and the tyrant of Middle Asia, fell by the hand of assassins. He had previously extinguished the fortunes of his house, by depriving, in a fit of jealousy, the eldest and ablest of his sons of sight. 'Your crimes have forced me to this dreadful measure,' was, we are told, the speech that Nadir made to his son. 'It is not my eyes you have put out,' replied Reza Culi, 'but those of Persia.'

'The morning after the murder of Nadir, presented a scene of the greatest confusion. Ahmed Khan, a chief of the Abdali tribe

of Afghans, supported by a corps of Usbecs, made an attack upon the Persian troops, but was repulsed. He left the army: and proceeding by rapid marches to Candahar, not only obtained possession of that city, but took a large convoy of treasure which was coming from Cabul and Sind to the Persian camp. By the aid of these means, this leader laid the foundation of a kingdom, which soon attained a strength that rendered it formidable to surrounding nations.'

The feeble descendants of the mighty Nadir soon disappeared from a scene for which they were unqualified. His grandson Shahrokh, who had been deprived of sight like his father, was, during some years, suffered to support a petty court by the revenues of the city of Mashhed, and its immediate environs. But the compassion inspired by his misfortunes could not save him from a danger which continually menaced his precarious existence. He had the misfortune to possess, and he was unable to relinquish, some of the most valuable jewels, which Nadir acquired in the plunder of Delhi; and the means adopted to force them from him, by the chief who ultimately succeeded to the fortunes of Nadir, terminated in his death in the year 1796.

The death of Nadir dissolved the allegiance, and excited the ambition of the heads of tribes both of Persian and of Tartar origin, several of whom were also provincial governors. At this period, the inhabitants of Persia may be considered as divided into four great classes.

'*1st*, The first and most powerful, if united, are the native tribes of that nation, who continue to live in tents, and change their residence with the season. The great mass of this part of the population, whose habits are pastoral and military, are to be found along those ranges of hilly countries which, commencing near the entrance of the Persian Gulph, stretch, parallel with its shores to Shuster, and from thence taking a north-westerly direction, extend up the left bank of the Tigris, as high as the province of Armenia. The region that has been described, includes Carman, almost all Fars, a part of Irac, and the whole of Curdistan. The inhabitants of these countries are divided into many different tribes; but there cannot be a stronger proof of their coming from one stock, than that the languages which they speak are all rude dialects of the Pehlavi. There is a considerable difference in these dialects, but not so much as to prevent the inhabitants of one province understanding those of another. From the period of the introduction of the religion of Mohamed, there never had been a king of Persia of this race. That country had either been governed by monarchs of a Tartar or an Arabian family. The numerous tribes of native Persians had consequently always been regarded with apprehension; and a jealous policy had sought, by transplanting them to distant quarters of the empire, and by fomenting internal divisions, to weaken their strength.'

'*2d*, But the great balance to their power were the Tartar, Turk-

ish, or Turcoman tribes, who had at different periods accompanied conquerors from beyond the Oxus, from the banks of the Volga, and from the plains of Syria, into the kingdom of Persia. The usages of these tribes, in all that related to their rude habitations, their mode of life and of warfare, were the same as the others; but they had continued distinct, from the difference of their language; and that circumstance alone (had other motives been wanting), would have kept alive a spirit of rivalry and hatred in the minds of these two great classes of the military population of Persia. The Turkish tribes, though not so numerous as the Persians, were more powerful, because more united and more wealthy. They had, through all the revolutions of that kingdom, been kept more concentrated, as they formed, from the period of the conquest of Togrul Beg, till that of Abbas the Great, the force on which the different races of monarchs chiefly depended.

'*3d*, The citizens and cultivators of Persia were not warlike; though the former had, on many occasions, by their gallant defence of their lives and property, acquired a high reputation for valour. Almost all the towns and villages were walled; and, in a country where the science of attack was but little known, the efforts of the inhabitants (part of whom were always a militia), in repelling attack, were often successful; and consequently, though this part of the population seldom furnished many recruits to an army, their attachment was, in scenes of civil warfare, of great consequence to the Chief whose cause they espoused.

'*4th*, The fourth class of the inhabitants of Persia consisted of a number of tribes of Arabians, who entirely occupied the level country between the mountains and the shore of the Persian Gulf. This tract, which resembles the Peninsula of Arabia more than any of the interior provinces of Persia, had been long abandoned to this race, who had, from the most early ages, possessed a superiority over the Persians at sea. The latter, indeed, seem at all periods of their history, to have at once dreaded and abhorred that element. The Arabs had consequently not only possessed themselves of the islands of the Gulf, but of almost all the harbours along the coast. Their children had maintained these possessions, yielding at times a real, and at others a nominal, obedience to the government of Persia; but their poverty, the heat of the climate, and the barrenness of the soil of the countries they inhabited, combined with the facility with which these tribes, who inhabit the coast, could embark in their boats, have at all times aided the efforts made by this race to maintain themselves in a state of rude independence.'

After six years of anarchy and civil war, the domination of Persia fell to a chief whose birth and character seemed the least likely to succeed in the midst of political convulsions. 'Carim Khan was of the Persian tribe of Zund. This chief was not of high birth, and had obtained no command in the army of Nadir; but he was distinguished for his good sense and cou-

rage.' The moderation and humanity he displayed in a subordinate situation, were his chief recommendations to the highest. 'His soldiers even respected the principles of their leader; and the eyes of all were directed with admiration and astonishment to a chief of a barbarous tribe, who refrained from plunder, and showed, amid scenes of violence and confusion, so marked a love of order and of justice.'

The most formidable competitor for the supreme power was Mohamed Hassain Khan, grandfather of the present king of Persia. From his native province of Mazanderan, this chief issued at the head of his tribe, and followed by a large army flushed with recent success over a powerful rival. In 1756, he drove Carim, whose military talents do not appear of the first order, from Ispahan, and laid siege to the city of Shiraz, in which that chief had shut himself up. The brave defence of this capital obliged his rival to retire; and, in the following year (1757), Mohamed Hassain fought and fell in the defence of his hereditary possessions in Mazanderan. From this period, until his death in 1779, Carim Khan reigned over the whole of Persia, with the exception of the two eastern provinces, Khorasan and Candahar, dismembered by the Afghan government of Cabul.

'The internal commerce of Persia, as well as its agriculture, had greatly revived during the latter years of Carim Khan. That prince gave the most particular encouragement to all the industrious classes of his subjects, and to none more than the Armenians who were settled in his dominions. The possessors and cultivators of the soil in Persia have to pay but a very moderate proportion of its produce to the government: but, as the monarch can impose arbitrary fines and requisitions, he may be said to possess the power of taxation at pleasure. The condition of this class, therefore, is almost as dependent for their happiness on his personal disposition, as any other in the community. They enjoyed under Carim as much consideration as he was able to give them; and he was, on all occasions, ready to redress the wrongs they suffered, from the oppressions of the officers placed over them. All the cities in Persia flourished under this prince; but none in any degree to be compared with Shiraz. Carim, perhaps, was first induced to make this city his capital, by the circumstance of its being centrical to the pasture lands of those tribes on whose support he chiefly depended, and from the attachment which its inhabitants early showed to his interests. He was at great pains to strengthen its defences; and he improved and ornamented the city itself with a number of useful and magnificent buildings, and beautified its environs by the erection of some fine edifices, near which were planted luxurious gardens. Under his auspicious sway, says his Persian biographer, "the inhabitants of that favoured city passed their leisure hours in the society of moon faced dam-

sels; the sparkling goblet circulated; and love and pleasure reigned in every breast."'

Carim Khan died at an advanced period of life, being nearly eighty years of age.

'When I was a poor soldier,' he often said, 'in Nadir Shah's camp, my necessity led me to steal, from a saddler, a gold embossed saddle, which had been sent by an Afghan chief to be repaired. I soon afterwards learnt that the man, from whom it was taken, was in prison, and sentenced to be hung. My conscience smote me, and I replaced the saddle exactly on the place from whence I took it. I watched till it was discovered by the saddler's wife, who, on seeing it, gave a scream of joy, fell down upon her knees, and prayed aloud, that the person who has brought it back might live to have a hundred gold embossed saddles. I am quite certain, he added, smiling, that the honest prayer of the old woman has aided my fortune in the attainment of that splendour which she desired I should enjoy.'

'Carim was one day on the point of retiring from his judgment seat, harassed and fatigued with a long attendance, when a man rushed forward in apparent distraction, calling out in a loud voice for justice.—"Who are you?" said Carim. "I am a merchant," replied the man, "and have been robbed and plundered by thieves of all I possess."—"What were you about," said the prince, "when you were robbed?"—"I was asleep," answered the man. —"And why did you sleep?" exclaimed Carim, in a peevish and impatient tone.—"Because," said the undaunted Persian, "I made a mistake, and thought you were awake." The irritation of the royal judge vanished in an instant. Turning to his Visier, he bade him pay the amount of the man's losses, from the treasury. "We must," he added, "try to recover this money from the robbers."

Writing was an accomplishment which this justly celebrated Chief never possessed, and he retained through life the dialect of his native tribe, which from its rudeness is universally denominated by the other inhabitants the barbarous dialect.

'This prince, as he was one day sitting in public, commanded his jester (a necessary appendage to a Persian court), to go and bring him word what a dog, which was barking very loud, wanted. The courtiers smiled at this sally of the monarch. The jester went as desired; and after appearing to listen some time with a profound attention, he returned, and said with a grave air—"Your Majesty must send one of the chief officers of your own family, to report what that gentleman says; he speaks no language, except the barbarous dialect, with which they are familiar, but of which I do not understand one word." The good humoured monarch laughed most heartily at this ridicule of his tribe, and gave the wit a present.'

It is now time to call the attention of our readers to a per-

sonage of a different character, and who, though an eunuch, was the founder of that dynasty, now seated on the throne of Persia. 'The Turkish tribe of Cajar had been long settled in Syria. They were brought from that country to Persia by Timur, and were one of the seven tribes who combined to raise Shah Ismael, the first king of the Sophi race, to the throne.' Abbas the Great divided this tribe into three branches, one of whom he settled at Asterabad, a small province of Mazanderan, to protect that country from the predatory inroads of those independent tribes of Turcomans, who dwell along the eastern shores of the Caspian.

Aga Mohamed Khan was the son of Mohamed Hassain Khan, the chief of this tribe of Cajars. We have already alluded to the hostile irruption of his father from Mazanderan, his siege of Shiraz, and subsequent death in the defence of his hereditary possessions. His son, Aga Mohamed, had been seized when an infant by one of the successors of Nadir, who had the barbarity to command, that he should be deprived of his virility. When his father was defeated and slain, he fell into the power of Carim Khan, by whom he was latterly treated with great kindness and indulgence. The whole of that time which he passed as a prisoner at Shiraz, was employed in preparing himself, by the study of men and books, for the great scene in which he was destined to act. He took advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of Carim Khan in 1779, fled with almost incredible speed to Mazanderan, and immediately declared himself independent.

'He was at this period thirty-six years of age. Though his frame was slender, he was, from his frugal diet and his habits of exercise, capable of suffering any fatigue or hardship. He might be said to live on horseback; for every moment that he could spare from other occupations, was given to the chase, which was, in fact, his only amusement. His heart is said to have been as hardened as his body; but the natural severity of his temper was, during the whole of his progress to that sovereign power which he attained, after a struggle of eighteen years, checked by his prudence, which led him not only to conciliate his friends by kindness, but to forget his wrongs, and even to forgive some of the most inveterate of his personal enemies.'

After the death of Carim Khan, the brothers and nephews of that chief contended for the supremacy; and successively fell the victims of their ambition. During this period, Aga Mohamed was chiefly occupied in establishing his authority over his own tribe, and extending his dominions on the banks of the Caspian.

'He also repaired the fortifications of Tahiran; which city, he appears, at this period, to have resolved to make his capital: a measure to which he was induced, from its vicinity to Mazanderan, and its centrical situation amid the pasture lands of those Turkish tribes, on whose support he chiefly depended.'

In the year 1789, Latif Ali Khan was the only surviving representative of the house of Carim Khan. He was grandson to the brother of that chief; and, by his military talents, and popular manners, appeared calculated to reestablish the fallen fortunes of the Zund family. But he imprudently disgusted the first magistrate of Shiraz, who was justly respected by the inhabitants. This officer, in the absence of Latif Ali, took possession of the city, and immediately applied to Aga Mohamed for assistance. This was instantly accorded; but the young chief, with a courage and heroism worthy of a happier fate, attacked and defeated two successive armies sent for the relief of Shiraz. But in 1792, Aga Mohamed advancing in person at the head of a large army, compelled the young hero, after prodigies of valour, performed with a force altogether disproportioned to the occasion, to seek his safety in flight. From this period, until that of his death in 1795, Latif Ali continued an illustrious fugitive, occupied in the vain endeavour of collecting a force sufficient to resist the constantly increasing strength of his more fortunate rival.

'At the death of Latif Ali Khan in 1795, we may pronounce that Aga Mohamed Khan was the actual, as well as the acknowledged sovereign, of the provinces of Asterabad, Mazanderan, of Ghilan, of the whole of Irac, of Fars, and of Carman. The situation of these countries, which extend from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, could only be deemed settled and obedient by a comparison of their condition to Khorasan, and other parts of the empire, which had been broken into a number of petty principalities at the death of Nadir Shah; and had, subsequent to that event, thrown off their allegiance to those rulers who assumed the title of sovereigns of Persia.'

The principles and character of Aga Mohamed will be best developed by his conduct towards his own brother Jafer Culi Khan. This chief had declined appearing at Court for some time after his brother's elevation. The most pressing entreaties, the most solemn assurances of safety were lavished, to induce him to repair to Tahiran; and the government of Ispahan was to be the reward of compliance. 'When he reached Tahiran, he was welcomed with every appearance of cordiality; and the night passed in peace. Next day, Aga Mohamed Khan, after giving him some instructions regarding his conduct at Ispahan, observed, "You have not, I believe, yet looked at my

new palace; walk there with Baba Khan; and, after you have seen it, return to me." He went to look at it; and, at the moment he entered the portico, some assassins, who had been stationed there, fell upon him and slew him. The body was carried to Aga Mohamed Khan, who mourned over it with the appearance of the most frantic grief. He desired Baba Khan (the name by which he always called the present monarch, who was then quite a youth) to approach. When near, he bade him observe the corpse of the bravest of men, and the best of brothers. Then loading the young prince with abuse, he exclaimed, 'It is for you I have done this! The gallant spirit that lately animated that body would never have permitted my crown to rest upon your head! Persia would have been distracted with internal wars. To avoid these consequences, I have acted with shameful ingratitude, and have sinned deeply against God and man!'—'These sentiments,' General Malcolm adds, 'might have been sincere: the public expression of them had the effect of mitigating the universal horror at this murder.'

'The tributary prince of Georgia, the aged Heraclius, taking advantage of the distracted situation of Persia, had, by a formal act, transferred his allegiance from the kings of that country, whose paramount authority his ancestors had acknowledged for centuries to the Sovereigns of Russia. His motive for this measure was declared to be a desire to release his Christian subjects from the violence and oppression of Mohamedan superiors, and to place them under the protection of a great nation of their own religion.'

The Empress Catherine accepted the overtures of Heraclius; and a formal treaty was executed in July 1783, by which she guaranteed to this prince all his possessions.

It was not till the year 1795, that Aga Mohamed Khan had leisure to punish this defection. He led on his army in person. At his approach, the cities of Ervan and Shisha submitted, and, advancing to Teflis, he encountered and defeated Heraclius, who fled to the mountains, whilst his capital exhibited a scene of devastation and carnage. An inhabitant of Georgia, who has given an account of this invasion, states, that General Goodavitch was within six marches of Teflis, in command of a Russian force of sufficient strength to have defended that capital; but that he refused to advance, though repeatedly solicited by Heraclius to come to his aid. 'General Malcolm thinks it more probable that he was unable to collect in time his dispersed forces.'

Aga Mohamed Khan had not yet been invested with the royal tiara, though long in possession of sovereign power. After the conquest of Georgia, he yielded, with well-dissembled reluctance,

to the entreaties of his courtiers. 'Recollect,' said he, 'that, if I do, your toils are only commencing; for I cannot consent to wear the Persian crown, without as much power as has been enjoyed by the greatest sovereigns of that country.'

In the year 1796, the Empress Catherine directed her armies to enter Georgia. They expelled the Persian garrisons left there by Aga Mohamed; made themselves masters of the coast of the Caspian, from the confluence of the Terek, to that of the Cyrus, and reduced the principal strongholds north of the Araxes, which General Zuboff crossed, and established his camp in the celebrated plains of Mogan. At this critical period, the death of the Empress occurred; and the first act of her son and successor, the Emperor Paul, was to recal the army under General Zuboff.

Aga Mohamed told the assembled leaders of his army, that the Russians had presumed, during his absence in Khorasan, to invade the opposite frontier of his dominions. 'But my valiant warriors shall be led against them; and we will, by the blessing of God, charge their celebrated lines of infantry, and batteries of cannon, and cut them to pieces with our conquering sabres.'—'Do you think,' said he to his minister, after the chiefs had retired, 'I will do what I have told them?' 'Undoubtedly,' was the reply.—'Can a man of your wisdom,' rejoined Aga Mohamed, 'believe I will ever run my head against their walls of steel, or expose my irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops? Their shot shall never reach me; but they shall possess no country beyond its range. They shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert.'

But Aga Mohamed had no opportunity of putting his tactics to the trial. He marched early in spring 1797; but the Russians had already disappeared, and the conqueror of Georgia was assassinated soon after by two of his domestics.

On the death of Aga Mohamed, his nephew Futteh Ali Khan (whom we have already mentioned under the familiar title of Baba Khan), hastened from Shiraz, of which he had been governor. He was instantly proclaimed King, but not publicly crowned till the beginning of 1798. Since his accession, Futteh Ali has made some progress in establishing his power over the greatest part of Khorasan. Even the chiefs of that country who have not been subdued, yield a nominal obedience and an occasional tribute.

'The Persian Monarch has not been so successful in maintaining the north-western frontier of his kingdom. Georgia,

after a warfare continued with various fortune for many years, has at last become a province of Russia; and the garrisons of that nation now extend to the banks of the Araxes, and along the southern shores of the Caspian.' The Shah is advantageously known in this country, by the pleasing address and bushy beard of his embassador, who graced for a time the metropolis of our Isle. Of his reign, General Malcolm has furnished few particulars: but his silence is eloquent.

It was our resolution to claim the attention of our readers to the luminous and able account which General Malcolm has exhibited of the ancient and modern religion of Persia—its doctrines, its ceremonies, and its effects. We also had wished to extract some portion of the new and curious information he has furnished relative to the sect of Sufis, whose mystical absurdities are conveyed through the medium of delightful poetry. The picture he has delineated of the present state of manners, science, literature and finance, would each have deserved more than a casual mention; but the length of observation and of extract in which we have already indulged, compels us to take our leave of this valuable and instructive publication.

ART. III. *Aus Meinem Leben, Dichtung und Wahrheit* VON GOETHE. Easter Theil, pp. 515. Tübingen, 1811. Zweiter Theil, pp. 573. Do. 1812. Dritter Theil, pp. 538. Tübingen, small 8vo, 1814.

THE German Muse has, of late years, been by far the most prolific of the sisterhood, and has certainly cause enough to be proud of some of her offspring;—although, in her time, she has been delivered of a more numerous litter of moon-calves and sooterkins than any of her kindred; and malicious people pretend, that, in the countenances even of her handsomest children, there may be traced a strong likeness to their mishapen brethren. For our own parts, however, we give no credit to that ill-natured surmise; and, considering the German literati as in a great measure the pupils of the English, we cannot help viewing them with parental fondness for their well-meant endeavours,—although, as yet, they have not been able to equal us in the manufacture either of Manchester goods or of Shakespeares.

The astonishing rapidity of the development of German literature, has been the principal cause both of its imperfections, and of the enthusiasm of its warmer admirers. About five-and-twenty or thirty years ago, all we knew about Germany was—

that it was a vast tract of country, overrun with hussars and classical editors;—and that, if you went there, you would see a great tun at Heidelbergh; and be regaled with excellent old hock and Westphalia hams; the taste for which good things was so predominant, as to preclude the slightest approach to poetical grace or enthusiasm. At that time, we had never seen a German name affixed to any other species of writing than a treaty, by which some Serene Highness or another had sold us so many head of soldiers for American consumption, at a fair and reasonable market-price; or to a formidable apparatus of critical annotation, teeming with word-catching and billinsgate in Greek and Latin. When it was discovered, all at once, that these laborious scholars had been suddenly metamorphosed into poets, novellists, and dramatists of all descriptions, it was natural to expect that the effect should be heightened by the contrast, and that we should make amends for our long contempt by a sudden burst of praise and admiration. It could not be long, however, till it was discovered, that the very rapidity of this creation had infallibly filled it with imperfections, and that a sudden and entire revolution in the taste of a nation was not the best preparation for a national taste either just or durable. It has been our good fortune, that the canonical succession of genius amongst us has never been interrupted, but has been transmitted, in regular descent, from the first fathers of poetry and eloquence, to the present inheritors of their glories. The great wits of every age have been proud to acknowledge the benefits which they derived from the example of their predecessors. The rugged and moss-grown oaks of the sacred forest are still standing in green old age, in the midst of the towering and vigorous stems which have sprung from the same roots, and have been nourished in the same healthy soil. The German Parnassus, on the other hand, was, till lately, a wide uncultivated waste; and when its possessors became ashamed of its sterility, they employed all possible pains to convert it at once into a picturesque plantation. They crowded it, therefore, with seedlings and saplings of every tree, and with exotics from every clime; and the consequence was, that many of them withered and died—whilst others shot up with a rank luxuriancy of vegetation, and sprouted into a thousand uncouth varieties.

The earlier of the German writers, those who flourished about the time of Goethe's youth, were denied the advantages of national models; and, instead of being guided by public opinion, or directed by national taste, they had the double task to perform,

of creating the love of elegant literature, and of satisfying that desire in proportion as they succeeded in exciting it. Under these circumstances, they began by being imitators—implicit servile imitators; and, with the usual felicity of copyists, the spirit of the originals escaped them, whilst all their faults were carefully preserved.—The followers of the French tripped along, bedizened in trumpery and tinsel. They too would say soft things, and be witty freethinkers, and smart philosophers: But the liquor which might have been sparkling champaigne at Ferney, proved vapid *swipes* when uncorked and unbottled in the stove-heated atmosphere of Leipsick or Weimar. Our self-love may incline us to judge more favourably of those who looked to England for their models; but our confidence in their judgment will be shaken, when it is recollected that Milton is only a sharer in the applauses which they bestow with still greater liberality on the Ossian of Macpherson!

Bolder heads, however, aspired to the merits of originality; and as they were freed from those salutary restraints by which the rash absurdity of wit is kept within due limits, they soon became outrageously original. There was no general feeling which it was necessary to conciliate by avoiding too wide a departure from habitual modes of thinking:—a restraint, as useful in the world of literature, as the rules of politeness are in common life. They addressed themselves to readers who had no fixed opinions of their own, and few of whom would dare to object to any thing which they saw in print. Unawed by the apprehension of efficient censure, the most worthless and paltry of the scribbling tribe assumed the portliest shapes, like shrivelled apples swelling themselves up *in vacuo;* and the more an author's writings were unlike what had been written in any other age or nation, the more he taught his public to consider him as a genuine German, and as displaying, in all its effulgence, the character of the nation.

These gross and palpable deformities are diminishing; but the era of good taste and sound judgment has not yet arrived. This sounds harshly—but we are afraid the proofs of it are too strong to be resisted. With the single exception of Schiller, they have no writer of chaste or elegant *prose.* Good poetry is common to every age, but prose alone is the test by which mental refinement can be unequivocally ascertained. There is another decisive indication that their literature has not attained maturity. They have not learnt that every kind of composition should preserve a character of its own, consistent to its nature and intent. In the early stages of society, the chieftain prides himself on being a good boat-

builder, or in cooking his own dinner. When civilization advances, it is discovered, that although it is highly useful to be able to handle a hatchet, or to turn a spit, it is yet more advantageous that trades and employments should be divided amongst the community, instead of centering in each of its members; and people then keep to their own occupation, to that to which they have served their apprenticeship, without attempting to dabble in the handicrafts of their neighbours. The commonwealth of literature passes through analogous gradations of refinement. At the revival of letters, and for a long time afterwards, every one conceived that he could not sustain his intellectual rank, unless he was a proficient in every branch of study; and that the readiest way of displaying his universal acquirements was, to make a show of excelling precisely in that department of learning which was most unnecessary in his particular calling. He placed himself in the Antipodes, to prove that he had circumnavigated the globe. Those ornaments which were least suitable, were deemed the most satisfactory. The white bosom of Florinda was praised in syllogisms and problems. Citations from Ovid and Petronius adorned a godly book. And an argument before the judges in Westminster Hall, on the validity of a surrebutter, was supported by a text from St Paul, or a verse from the Psalms of David. When men are first made to perceive the importance of learning, they dote upon it; and some time must elapse, before they can comprehend that any portion of those stores which are so much better than houses or land, can ever be misplaced or irrelevant.

This tinge of barbarity, is by no means discreditable to the intellectual powers, because it is the result of an earnest attachment to literature, acting on a vigorous, but untutored understanding; and it may be justly predicated of the Germans. But the same imperfect perceptions of fitness and propriety, which would have made their works pedantic in the last age, have disfigured them in ours with ostentatious quackery and puling affectation. Erudition is no longer the sole path to distinction, although it continues to be one of the principal highways. We now respect superior intellect, whatever the task may be in which it has chosen to employ itself. Equal honours may be gained by pursuing the most opposite directions—by deep research, or by the most boundless luxuriance of fancy—by bold inquiries into the truth of received opinions, or by vindicating these opinions with conscientious ability. The candidate for fame is at liberty to follow the doctrines of the Academy or the Portico; he may grasp the crown of roses, or aspire to the wreath of immortal bays. But when he has elected his pro-

vince, he must be content to keep within it: He must not be an Epicurean whilst he bears the staff and wallet of the cynic; nor philosophize with Plato, whilst his brows are encircled with the voluptuous garland. The Germans are perpetually sinning against this plain and obvious precept; each individual labours out of his vocation. The German novellist gives broad hints that he is qualified to hold a disputation 'in omni scibili et de quolibet ente.'—The German Professor strives to be an amiable Adonis in his college gown and ruff.—In theology the Germans are all for reason, and will admit nothing but what can be demonstrated.—In history and science they are all for faith, and are ready to believe every thing that can be said.

The quality which Madame de Stael has termed the poetry of the soul, contributes in seducing them to disobey the warning voice of sober reason; it gives a morbid vivacity to their faculties; it turns them into day-dreamers and visionaries and mystics; and is the chief ingredient of those lamentable characteristics—the mingled rant and sickliness of German literature. It is one and the same spirit which successively engaged them in the earnest study of the suns and moons and smaragdine tables of Trismegistus, and the blue griffins and red eagles of Basil Valentine; or set them to ruminate over the interlaced circles and pentagons and cabalistic mottoes of Jacob Behmen, with all the intensity of admiring devotion. And when Kant and his categories succeeded to as much veneration as had been enjoyed by the chemical monk and the mystical cobler, it is hard to decide whether they gained or lost by the exchange. Even in those pursuits which, from their severe tendency, would seem to exclude its influence, it betrays them into crazy theories and bottomless systems, where the wildest analogies are substituted for facts, and in which the place of argument is held by that species of dexterous combination, which, when properly applied, constitutes wit, but which, when misapplied, is attributed to a more dangerous infirmity, sometimes suspected to be of kindred descent. Thus, in the infancy of science, old Bombast revealed the astral signatures of plants; and refuted the popular opinions respecting showers of blood, by sagely asserting, that they were only common rain which assumed that colour *by passing through the red arch of the rainbow!* In the full maturity of knowledge, the same misdirected imaginations have led the countrymen of Haller and Blumenbach to become the enthusiastic auditors of Gall and Spurzheim's craniological lectures.

Although we do not go the length of supposing that every breeze which reaches us from the main land of Europe is taint-

ed with infidelity and anarchy; yet we cannot help remarking, that the principles and morality of the German writers, in general, do not appear well calculated to advance the welfare of society. Being aware that they have laboured under the charge of boorish apathy, they seek to endue themselves with a preternatural susceptibility for the finer affections. They bring on a general inflammation; their very bones and cartilages acquire sensation; and they mistake the effect of disease for something better than healthy feeling. Their writings overflow with exaggerated sensibility,—but is evidently acquired, and foreign to their nature:—There is always a substratum of clumsiness: A German sentimentalist is a great fat butcher whimpering over a murdered calf. On particular points they are ostentatiously moral; but they *paw* their morality about, until it becomes soiled and disgusting. As far as their works can have any effect on their readers, they encourage the growth of those high-wrought poetical feelings, which may become the nurses of virtue, if we keep them carefully concealed, but, if brought into common use, are sure to turn the weaker part of the community into coxcombs, and to place them at the mercy of the knaves who are just above them in point of intellect. This gilt and lackered morality agrees with the craving appetite for theatrical effect, in which the sober-minded Prussians and Saxons participate full as strongly as the volatile Parisians; and to which, amongst other effects, we may attribute the charming sentimental anecdotes, and interesting 'traits' of character, which now ring from side to side amongst the good people on the Continent;—'great Princesses' releasing a dozen paupers imprisoned for small debts, in the *mi-carême*, and blushing to find it fame;—the obliging smiles and condescensions, and pretty sayings of greater princes;—and Russian Emperors rescuing Polish peasants from the water, and blessing the day as the happiest of their lives. In conformity to this gaudy fashion of thinking and acting, the practices of virtue become recommended, not on account of their intrinsic worth, but of their exterior gracefulness. Of course there is no firmness or security in this theatrical morality—and it gives place, as occasion requires, to an equally gaudy profligacy. In this there has been a reaction arising out of their political situation. Military governments produce military morals. When the palace becomes the head-quarters of the army, we must expect to find the decencies of the *corps de garde* amongst the courtiers—and the ambitious inhabitants of the cities taking for their patterns the chastity of a trull, and the honesty of a suttler. The press in Germany has always been

under the full controul of the ruling powers; and there has been a tacit understanding, that the *philosophists* should have complete liberty to attack the Church, provided the Barracks were let alone. The marriage-bed might be despoiled of its sanctity—and welcome,—so as the reverence due to the epaulette remained undiminished.—It is to Germany that the world is indebted for the Reformation. But now every writer of that country who wishes to become popular, is sure to slander that great and holy work, because Protestantism, forsooth, is not favourable to the arts;—it is cold and unimpassioned, and affords no food for the imagination. The willing slaves of ill-regulated and heated fancy, they rebound from extreme to extreme, and are glad when they allow it to delude them.

With all this, we are really very far from thinking ill of the German character. Nations, like individuals, are the creatures of education and circumstances. Almost within our memory, they have accomplished what has usually been the work of centuries. This could not have been effected without a rare union of unwearied diligence and generous ardour; and we can only regret the aberrations which have been occasioned by an enthusiastic, though injudicious admiration, of all that is dignified and praiseworthy in human nature.

Goethe is a faithful representative of the general character of his country. He possesses great and versatile talents, though he is far from applying them to the best advantage:—he could not escape the influence of the fogs which surrounded him. Schiller alone had vigour to soar into a purer sky. Goethe's delineations of passion and character are almost always strained and unnatural; but he has the art of making us sympathize with his non-descripts, though we never can possibly delude ourselves into the belief that such beings could have a real existence. His novels are more interesting than his dramas. They are equally artificial; but his strained conceptions are compensated by his vivid descriptions, and by the strong and original opinions which he throws out, without much regard to the occasion of introducing them. He is certainly most happy in his less laboured and less glaring parts,—in the by-play of his fictions. Nothing can be more impressive, for instance, than the scene in which Faustus and his familiar begin the seduction of Margaret, by placing the casket of jewels in her room during her absence. There is no particular elevation or beauty either of language or sentiment; but the impression arises wholly from the contrast between diabolical guile and unsuspecting innocence. In the course of the analysis of Goethe's life, it will be seen that the remains

of the middle ages took a powerful hold on his imagination; and that the history and customs of these ages became his favourite study. Hence, perhaps, his romantic dramas are the best, and his legendary ballads the most pleasing. He is more at his ease in the castle of Jaxthausen than in a chateau of modern days; and he has a heartier relish for the revelry of the table of the Bishop of Bamberg, than for a classical symposion. He is seldom *very* tame, as long as he can keep himself in action: But he unfortunately imagines that his peculiar excellence lies in psychology. He is always anxious that his works should display his skill in anatomizing the heart and mind. And the way in which he goes about it, reminds us of an ancient Greek surgeon, demonstrating on the carcass of a dissected pig, and imagining that the entrails of the brute offer a faithful counterpart of the structure of the human body. To this predilection for the philosophy of the passions, we owe the dialogues composed of an alternate succession of hour-long harangues and span-long sentences, with which his dramas are filled: and the ingenious and elaborate structure of his novels, of that for example entitled 'Die Wahlverwandtschaften,' or 'Elective attractions;' by which same 'elective attractions,' it is shown how Edward combines with his wife's niece Ottilia—and his wife Charlotte being thus disengaged from her base, forms a new compound with the captain:—whilst the Count and the Baroness exhibit a similar play of affinities, on a minor scale. It is a singular fact, that Goethe, whose mind is really capable of appreciating the sublime and beautiful, should at the same time labour under a complete inability of avoiding the ridiculous and the disgusting. In his heroics, George runs down in a bustle from the roof of the castle, with a leaden spout in his hand, to supply Goetz of Berlichingen with ammunition. In his tender mood, the corpse of the beautiful Mignon is opened, and her veins and arteries carefully injected with coloured wax; and thus the afflicted admirers of this lovely, impassioned maiden, are gratified by seeing her turned into an anatomical preparation which would do honour to the Hunterian Museum. He is tenderly philosophical when he descants on the sensations excited in William's breast by the powder-puff, and combs, and pots of rouge, of his theatrical mistress:—but to show him in all his energy, he must have incest, and adultery, and infanticide. Take him in his writings, and it must be concluded that he cannot be made to understand that there are some objects which are so ludicrous, as to make us laugh at the writer who selects them; and that there are others so disagreeable, as to cause us to turn away with horror.

We are told that these Memoirs are intended to form a kind of perpetual commentary on all his former works. They were composed in obedience to the 'request of friends,' as stated in a letter from a nameless friend, which is inserted in the preface. This kind correspondent, who acts as spokesman for the whole chorus of Goethe's friends and admirers, informs him of certain opinions which they entertain respecting his works,—in which we do not agree, but which we cannot stop to controvert; and that they have not yet 'given up the hope of becoming more intimately acquainted with his life and modes of thinking,' which 'would afford a solution to many riddles, and solve many problems' which appear to have puzzled them on the perusal of his productions; and therefore, they are most desirous to be furnished 'with the details of the circumstances under which his different works were produced,'—'the examples which he followed,'—'and the theories by which he was guided.' These friendly entreaties, he tells us, 'immediately awakened in me the desire of complying with them.' He began by arranging his works in chronological order, and sought—'to revive the recollections of the days when I brought them forth;'—besides which, he had 'to trace his progress in general knowledge, and in all his studies and employments.' In the course of these labours, the prospect continued widening.—In calling up the reminiscences of his 'inward feelings,' and of the 'external causes' by which he was 'influenced,' and of the 'steps' by which he advanced in 'theory' and 'practice,' he was led further and further. From the contemplation of his own private life 'he was transported into the wide world.'—'The images of the many eminent characters, by whose example or acquaintance I had been acted upon in a greater or lesser degree, arose before me. It was even necessary to take into particular consideration the vast movements of the political universe, which have had the greatest influence on me, as well as on all my contemporaries.' Goethe's Life, it seems, must be considered as having, in many instances, furnished the matter for his works of imagination, whilst in them we are to seek for a poetical view of his life and sentiments.

It is not easy to talk about our old loves, much less to write and print and publish an account of them. If they have been deeply seated in the heart, their memory is hallowed; and it is painful to drag the image of one whom we have sincerely loved, before the gaze of the multitude: And most persons have modesty enough to be ashamed of acknowledging that they have been under the controul of more licentious affections. There are writers, however, who have been able

to excuse themselves in such a manner, that even a rigid censor does not feel willing to pass a harsh judgment on their disclosures. The gay swordsmen of France recount their gallantries with the practised air of men of the world; and carry off their gracelessness as a matter of course. We should almost think them poor-spirited, if they had suffered any fair opportunity to pass unimproved. And were they to conceal any of their frequent good fortunes, they would act completely out of character. Others, like Alfieri, convince us that they were the passive victims of impetuous, irresistible passion. Rousseau has such artful simplicity, that he deludes us into the belief that he is really unconscious of having indulged in any sentiment which ought not to have been included in his plenary confession. The author before us does things in a different manner. Not that he has shown the least shyness in making us the confidants of his tender feelings for the different spinsters and wedded dames by whom he was successively enthralled. But we can take upon ourselves to say, that they may all be perused with safety by readers of the most inflammable temperament.

Other writers of their own memoirs have confined themselves to the introduction of such of their contemporaries as enjoyed some legitimate claims to notoriety, and were already known to the world, or who at least could furnish an agreeable notice, or an interesting anecdote, although they were of less celebrity. And under the foolish notion of sparing the impatience of their readers, they have most unkindly allowed the great body of their friends and relations to remain in perpetual obscurity, merely because these worthy characters never did or said any one thing which deserved to be remembered. This is not the case with Goethe. He has yielded with such laudable docility to the strong calls of blood and friendship, that he has done his best to immortalize every person who enjoyed the honour of being connected with him—and all his acquaintance—and all the acquaintances of his acquaintance—and every man, woman and child, who might, could, should or would have been numbered amongst his acquaintance. The memory of a little sulky brother, who fell sick of the measles, and died before he was breeched, when Goethe was six years old, claims an affectionate memorial from fraternal piety. His diverse aunts receive a tribute of gratitude 'in return for the numerous kindnesses' which they 'bestowed upon me in my youth,' particularly his grandfather's second daughter, who was married to 'Melbert the grocer' who kept a shop in the 'best part of the town, near the market.' She, indeed, has particular claims upon posteri-

ty; for Goethe used to steal stick-liquorice out of her shop-drawers: and when Charles the Seventh was crowned, 'my aunt, who was the liveliest of the family,' scrambled upon a post, and holla'd—'*Vivat!*' so lustily, that the good-natured Emperor took off his hat and bowed to her as an acknowledgment for her vociferous demonstrations of loyalty.' As to his friends, they crowd in upon us in thousands, and in all the authenticity of their original habits and attire:—for instance, Dr Saltzmann, who 'sat at the head of the table' at the boarding-house at Strasburgh, and 'was always particularly neat and clean in his appearance, and usually carried an umbrella,' and whose description is wound up with this emphatic exclamation—'Yes, he was one of those who always walk in shoes and stockings, with a *chapeau-bras* under their arms!'

If we are not inclined to suppose that Goethe has been blinded by mere egotism, we must come to the conclusion, that some of his deep theories have prevented him from acquiring a correct notion of the manner in which his subject ought to have been treated. A great many devices and artifices must be resorted to, before the repetition of the hateful pronoun can be rendered at all tolerable to the reader.—There is no doubt but that a person who writes his own life, must be allowed to put himself in the foreground: and it is his duty to reveal a great number of secrets respecting himself, of which he is the sole depositary. But Goethe makes no attempt to select such as are alone fit to be preserved. He strips himself stark-naked, and empties his pockets inside out into the bargain. He has undertaken to give a view of his literary life,—to furnish a history of the progress of his thinking faculties, of the gradual development of his talents, and of the intellectual genealogy of his different compositions. In performing this task, he does not appear to have felt that it was not absolutely necessary to turn over the tablets of his memory, and to transcribe on a public and imperishable record, all those crude thoughts and hollow fancies which are of as little moment as the spots of coloured light which float on the optic nerve when our eyes are shut:—so it is, however, in the extraordinary work before us. All the events of his life, all his comings and goings, are set out with painful accuracy;—they happened to him, and therefore they must find a place in his biography. He tells us more than we can possibly care to hear. But he is not frank, although he is garrulous. An honest egotist dwells upon *self*, and never takes the trouble to reflect whether the theme is or is not agreeable to another. Goethe descants upon trifles, because he is so full

of his own importance, that he is persuaded that nothing which relates to him, can be considered as insignificant. In contradiction to the well-known saying, he thinks that he *is* a hero in the eyes of his valet-de-chambre. He rejoices in his heart, when he has an opportunity of letting the world know, that he—the famous Goethe—the great author—is fashioned as other mortals are. He fancies that we shall love him all the better, if he demonstrates that, notwithstanding his immortal genius, he is of our own nature,—whilst he is satisfied that we cannot worship him the less in consequence of this condescension. He digresses into a frequent and pompous display of reflection, sometimes ingenious, but never to the purpose. His thoughts lose their value by their position;—he puts his noughts on the wrong side of his ciphers. But, although the work is disfigured by the most puerile vanity and affectation, it is not by any means unentertaining. His interminable prolixity, on the most trifling matters, is occasionally blended with a good deal of information, agreeable in itself, and which, to us at least, has the recommendation of novelty. The style, in general, is bald and tame. He has a small assortment of favourite words, which he employs on all occasions. He rings the changes on 'fiction and truth,' and 'truth and fiction;' and on 'imputing' and 'influencing,' and 'reminiscences' and 'impressions,' and his 'great partiality to the superlative degree;' and if any phrase is convenient in use, he does not scruple to employ it over and over again. His narrative is so diffuse, that he literally wants words to clothe it in. By any attempt at condensation, it might have received incalculable benefit; for he can be animated, if he chooses to strike an enlivening chord. He describes his youthful rambles and early impressions, and the first sights which he saw, and the first books which he read, with poetical vivacity; but he becomes unwieldy as he becomes older, just as the little angel in nurse's arms grows up into a gawky schoolboy. However, the remaining portions of these Memoirs are of value, inasmuch as they offer a more correct view of the *way of living* which obtains amongst the Germans, than has perhaps hitherto been afforded,—besides giving an account of the manner in which he laid the foundation of his literary fame.

He was born on the 28th August 1749, at Frankfort on the Maine; and his birth was in some measure conducive to the welfare of the town: For the ignorance of the midwife having been nearly attended with fatal consequences to the new-born babe, his maternal grandfather, John Wolfgang Textor, who

filled the office of Schultheiss, or prætor (as it has sometimes been translated), introduced a regulation for the purpose of affording better instruction to the female practisers of the obstetric art. Nearly the whole of the first volume is occupied by the history of his childhood,—and is filled, of course, with trifles and absurdity. He acquired a very early taste for architectural grandeur, by gazing on certain views of Rome which decorated his father's parlour. The old gentleman, it seems, was fond of the Italian language, and of all that related to Italy, ' and passed great part of his time in revising the manuscript of his Italian travels, which he copied, sheet by sheet, with great care and patience.' In this task he was occasionally assisted by a cheerful old Italian, called Giovinazzi, who had a good voice; and Goethe's mother was so often compelled to gratify her husband's taste for music, by accompanying him on the harpsichord, that he could soon repeat ' il solitario bosco ombroso ' by heart, although without understanding it. He was sent very young to school,—and records, with great minuteness, the impressions derived from his youthful rambles about the town. His favourite walk was along the great bridge over the Maine. The prospect of the noble river ' rivetted his attention;' and—' I always considered it a joyful sight to see the gilt weather-cock on the bridge-cross, glitter in the sunshine.'—' When we walked in the heart of the town, we never failed to bestow a respectful greeting on the Saalhof, which stands at least on the site where the castle of Charlemain and his successors was once erected.'—' There was no architectural splendour to be found in Frankfort; but every object preserved remembrance of the old turbulent times.' The series of gates and towers which indicated the boundary of the old town, and the wider circuit of gates and towers, ramparts and fosses, bulwarks and drawbridges, by which the new town was enclosed, all spoke of the dangers and adventures of a frontier city. These scenes, he tells us, gave him a fondness for antiquity, which was increased by the old chronicles, and the old prints and wood-cuts which fell in his way. With these inclinations, the old town-house, the Römer, as it is called, where the German emperors were chosen, became his favourite haunt. He was highly entertained by whatever related to that impressive ceremony. He got into the good graces of the door-keeper, who allowed him to walk up the ' emperor's staircase, which was usually shut by a railing.' The *wahl zimmer*, or election-chamber, with its purple hangings and fantastic borders of embroidery, inspired him with uncommon awe;—and the paintings over the doors, of genii dressed in the imperial robes, and bearing the insignia of

the empire, were viewed by him and his companions with great attention—' and w indulged in the expectation that we too might live to see a coronation.'—' When we were so lucky as to be able to steal into the Imperial hall, they had hard work indeed before they could get us out of it again;—and if any one was kind enough to tell us of any of the deeds of the different emperors whose portraits were painted round the walls, we considered him as our greatest benefactor. We were told many a legendary story of Charlemain, and Rodolph of Hapsburg,' &c. &c.

In the same spirit he describes the civic ceremonies which periodically recalled the good old times into a kind of temporary existence. Of these, the most interesting was the Pfeifergericht, or the ' Piper's court-day,' when the towns of Worms, Nuremberg and Bamberg, presented their symbolical gifts to the Senate of Frankfort. The day before the nativity of the Virgin, this ceremony was proclaimed. The echevins took their places on raised benches in the Imperial hall, and, in the middle of them, the Schultheiss, Goethe's grandfather, sat on an elevated chair, and presided over the assembly; the advocates sat below, and the register began to read the decrees which had been pronounced. ' Suddenly a strange and unusual melody announces the approach of former centuries. It is produced by three pipers, their heads covered, and dressed in antique mantles of blue and gold. The proceedings of the court are stopped; the pipers and their train stand before the bar; the representative of the tributary town places himself before the Schultheiss, and presents the gifts,'—which were always such as were strictly due, and of right accustomed—a goblet of wood, curiously turned, and filled with pepper—a pair of gloves, slashed and embroidered in antique guise—and a few pieces of silver money. The town of Worms sent an old felt hat, which had figured in this ceremony for many a year. The pageantry of the Pfeiffer-gericht was attractive enough in itself; and the vanity of Goethe and his brothers and sisters, was not a little flattered by the state and dignity in which they saw their grandfather fill the chair.

Goethe received more than the mere rudiments of education from his father; and we think he would have done more honour to his filial piety, if he had not expatiated quite so much as he has done, on the little infirmities of temper of this parent, to whose example and instructions he owes the best points of his own character. The elder Goethe had began his studies at Cobourg, where he had been well grounded in the learned languages. He had studied the Civil law at Leipsick, and had

completed his academical career at Giessen; and his dissertation, 'Electa de aditione hereditatis,' Goethe adds, 'is yet quoted by the Jurists with great praise.' A learned father usually hopes to see his son following his footsteps; and Goethe soon understood that he must look forward to a course of Civil law at Leipsick. The arts, however, and elegant literature, were no less important than solid learning in the estimation of his father; and Goethe was pleased with the promise, that after visiting Wetzlar and Ratisbon, his travels were to be extended to Vienna, and from thence to Italy. 'But first you must see Paris,' said his father; 'for, after returning from Italy, no other country can be enjoyed.' In the mean time, he was kept busy with classics and geography at home. His father used to teach Italian to his daughter Cornelia, in the schoolroom, during the time he was at work on 'Cellarius;' and when he had finished his task, he used to sit quietly listening to his sister's lessons, by which he soon acquired a competent knowledge of Italian; particularly as it pleased him 'on account of its appearing like Latin in masquerade.' He learned a great deal, he tells us, from prints and engravings. From Gottfried's Chronicle, or rather from the fine old cuts by which it is illustrated, and from a great folio bible ornamented in the same manner, Goethe became acquainted with the principal events of sacred and profane history. Ovid's Metamorphoses, which he studied with great diligence, 'contributed to the store of ideas which I was gaining. Telemachus produced a more tranquillizing effect on my imagination.' Lord Anson's voyages 'combined the richness of fiction with the dignity of truth;' and it was an instructive employment to follow his track on the terrestrial globe. On the whole, however, he still preferred Fortunatus, or the Seven Wise Masters. He had just purchased the former, and was in the full enjoyment of the purse and wishing cap, when he was attacked by the small-pox, from which he slowly recovered; and then, in due time, he had the chicken-pox and the measles;—the whole symptoms of which are described with great liveliness and fidelity. After his recovery, he paid many visits to the garden of the worthy Schultheiss, where the old gentleman, we are told, passed great part of his leisure 'sorting tulip roots,' 'pruning, planting,' or 'grafting,' as the season required;—'dressed in a long nightgown, and a full velvet cap: so that he might have been considered as a kind of middle being between Alcinous and Laertes!'

Goethe did not absolutely lisp in numbers; but it was not long before the inborn faculty of poetry began to show itself.

—He and a few other boys of his own standing had a Sunday meeting, when each undertook to produce a copy of verses. Goethe naturally considered his as the best; but when he found that every one of his associates had the same self-preference, he was 'puzzled by this discovery,' and began to 'suspect that he also might be mistaken;' till at length, like older authors, he was 'reassured,' by 'levity and self-love, and by the praises which he obtained from his parents and teachers.' He had attained his seventh year, when the great war broke out, which, among other momentous effects, 'was destined to have great influence over me during the next seven years of my life.' On the 25th August 1758, Frederick of Prussia invaded Saxony with an army of sixty thousand men; and 'this decisive movement was followed by a manifesto, said to be his own composition,' in which he set forth the reasons by which he endeavoured to justify this bold and unexpected measure. The whole world divided itself into two parties, for or against the rising hero;—and this division extended to the little family circle of Goethe. The old Schultheiss had been one of the bearers of the golden canopy at the coronation of Francis the I.; and the empress had presented him with her miniature and a golden chain: He therefore took part with the house of Austria, and was followed by sundry of his daughters and sons-in-law. Goethe's father, who had been appointed an Imperial counsellor by Charles the VII., and a few others of the family, but who constituted a minority, adhered to the valiant Fritz. The siege of Dresden, the apparent magnanimity of the King, the battle of Lowositz, and the capture of the Saxon army, gave the Prussian party a decided triumph,—the others were proportionably depressed;—'my grandfather, although he was naturally quiet, easy, and cheerful, lost his temper.' Old disputes were renewed under the name of political quarrels, and a downright schism ensued between the members of the family. As for me, says Goethe, 'I became a Prussian, or rather a "Fritzian;" for what cared we for Prussia? it was the personal character of the King which we admired. I rejoiced with my father at his victories; I copied the songs and verses which were composed to commemorate them with great pleasure: but I was still more pleased with the lampoons and satires which appeared against his opponents.' Goethe, however, being not only the eldest grandchild, but also the godson of the Schultheiss, had long enjoyed the distinction of dining with him 'every Sunday.' But he could no longer relish his grandmamma's good dishes, as at every mouthful he was compelled to listen to the 'vituperations' which were poured out against his favourite warrior. There is no saying to what extremities these pa-

triotic sufferings might have gone, had not his attention been fortunately distracted by the reappearance of a set of puppets, which had been presented to him by his grandmother on a Christmass eve, many years back, and which now issued again from their confinement. He was quite absorbed in the occupation of dressing his wooden company, and providing them with scenes and other properties, and in inventing dramas and melodramas, which they acted to perfection. The theatre was fitted up in the 'back garret;' and things went on as well as possible, till the audience, which consisted of his elder playfellows, became unruly; and he was obliged to exclude all spectators, except such as would submit to be kept in order by the nursery-maids. The readers of William Meister will recollect, that the author has introduced these amusements in the first chapters of that novel. The hero, Goethe's *double*, is made to attribute his theatrical propensities to a similar puppetshow; and he becomes so deeply enwrapped in his description of Saul and Goliah, and the box in which his mother locked them up, that he does not perceive that Marianne has fallen asleep during the narration—an occurrence which we have long considered as the most probable, and strictly natural, in the volume.

When 'new-year's day 1759' arrived, it was as welcome as ever to the young; for they did not participate in the anxiety of their parents. Towards the end of the year 1758, detachments from the French army had frequently marched near Frankfort. According to the ancient custom, which was yet observed, the warder stationed on the tallest steeple sounded his trumpet whenever he espied any bodies of armed men approaching the city. On that new-year's day, he had to repeat his blast from morning till night. On the following day, the fears of the inhabitants were realized, and the French took possession of the city. No one felt the burthen more severely than Goethe's father, in whose house the 'lieutenant du Roi,' the Count Thorand, was quartered. The Count was a strict disciplinarian, but perfectly polite withal; and used every endeavour to conciliate his discontented host. But old Goethe could never be reconciled to the disturbance of his pursuits and retirement, occasioned by his military inmate. The young poet, however, became a favourite with the Count, who had no great difficulty in endearing himself to the children, by a liberal distribution of fruit and confectionary from his dessert;—being already in the fair way of popularity, by the complete suspension of all their tasks and lessons which his presence had produced. Goethe gained a tolerable knowledge of the French language from his intercourse with the soldiers, and the attendants of the Count. His proficiency was increased by his

visits to the French theatre, which, as a matter of course, had been established by the garrison. Here he became acquainted with the most current productions of the French drama, and attempted a mythological piece in imitation of them, which was received in no very flattering manner by a fantastical and conceited actor, to whom he showed it,—whose criticisms gave him a great contempt for the pedantry of the regular drama. However, 'he went still oftener to the play, and read Moliere and Racine, and the greater part of Corneille,' with more attention and assiduity than ever. At length, his father was released from the presence of the Count, but not until he had been put under arrest, for wishing the French at the devil: and he resumed his wonted plans of education.

'Every body should learn to draw,' said he; and he respected the memory of the Emperor Maximilian, because he had given the same recommendation of the art. He was himself a great amateur and collector of pictures; but he had neglected to learn drawing in his youth; and he now attempted it for the purpose of giving an example to his children. Goethe also received his first lessons in music from a humourist, who allured his scholars by giving ludicrous names to their fingers:—and a travelling language master taught him a little English. He took a fancy also to learn Hebrew; and for this purpose, was put under the tuition of Dr Albrecht, the rector of the Gymnasium, who, it seems, 'was one of the strangest 'figures' imaginable; 'short and lusty, the picture of Esop in a wig and surplice;' and studied nothing but Lucian and the Bible. Klopstock and others had set the example of composing works of fancy, founded on holy writ; and Goethe followed them, by expanding the history of Joseph into poetical prose. This prosaic epic, together with a selection from such of his poems as pleased him best, was copied into a neatly bound quarto, which he presented to his father, who received the gift with complacency, and exhorted him to compose 'a like quarto every year.'

We come next to a long account of the author's early opinions on the subject of religion and riding schools, which may be conveniently omitted—and then to a copious biography of almost all the patricians and plebeians of his acquaintance—with a full description of their dwelling-places, noses and nightgowns. The finest figure in this valuable series is that of Counsellor Huisgen, who 'had but one eye, and a face so disfigured with the small-pox, that when he was seen for the first time, he could not be looked at without apprehension;' but he atoned for his deformity by the elegance of his costume.—'Upon his bald head he always wore a very white nightcap, bound at

top with a riband; and his nightgowns, of calimanco or damask, were always perfectly clean.'

We come now, however, to more tragical matters.—Through the introduction of an old play-fellow, Goethe became one of a set which consisted of young men of the 'middling, or rather the lowest class,' who had 'no regular occupation,' but who lived by their wits. One of these vagabonds, it seems, made rhymes by profession, and had a commission to indite two copies of verses,—an epithalamium and a funeral elegy, for which he was to be 'handsomely paid.' At his request, Goethe undertook to compose them in his stead, and succeeded to admiration. At first he felt some little repugnance to these jolly companions; but he was soon reconciled to their society by the charms of a certain Margaret, the cousin of the young fellow at whose house these gentlemen of the fancy usually assembled. Margaret, notwithstanding the doubtful appearance of her connexions, was modest and industrious; and, without acquainting her lover of her intention, she hired herself to a milliner. Goethe, who had visited her in her homely household dress the evening before, was thunder-struck when he saw her as an *elegante* in the milliner's shop, whither he had been despatched to cheapen some artificial flowers for his sister Cornelia. He could not bear the thought of Margaret being thus upon show at a milliner's, and came home in very bad humour:—when he was informed by his father, that as it was now 'certain that the Archduke Joseph would be chosen King of the Romans, it was not fit that he should be present at such an important event without knowing what had passed on former occasions.' He was accordingly compelled to sit down to his desk, and to employ the whole of the day, and great part of the evening, in studying the journals and official acts of the two last elections, although Margaret was perpetually interposing herself between the golden bull and the constitutions of the holy Roman Empire.

In spite of all the trash which surrounds it, the pomp and pride of the coronation of Joseph is described with great spirit and dignity. He now witnessed the realization of the scenes which had given him so much pleasure in his old chronicles. The Imperial quarter-master took possession of the town; the approaching solemnity was proclaimed to the sound of trumpets; the entries of the ambassadors and electors followed. The regalia of Charlemain were solemnly escorted into Frankfort. The festivity of the time gave him an opportunity of being frequently in the company of Margaret without the knowledge of his father:—and Margaret and the Emperor, and the King of the Romans, divide our attention until the coronation day. He had been allowed to see the preparations for the Imperial banquet, in

the great hall of the Roemer, and he was anxious to have a sight of the solemn festivity; but no spectators were permitted to enter; and he stationed himself on the chief staircase, along which there passed the 'four-and-twenty Counts of the empire, all splendidly attired,' bearing the dishes from the kitchen. These noble waiters did not however perform the whole duty of the dinner tables; and Goethe persuaded one of the attendants of the Elector Palatine to surrender to him the care of a silver dish—and he was thus enabled to gain admittance into the hall. The Emperor and the King of the Romans sat under a baldachin in their full robes—the crown and sceptre were lying on golden cushions. The three ecclesiastical electors were seated each on a separate chair,—but the seats of the temporal electors were empty; and Goethe observes, that the greater part of the hall wore 'a spectral appearance, seeming as if the richly decked tables were laid for invisible guests.' The town was illuminated; and Goethe with his fair one and her party, enjoyed a festal evening, unconscious that a sorrowful morning was approaching. 'My mother came to my bedside with a look of anxiety.—Get up, said she, it is discovered that you have been keeping very bad company, and that you are implicated in the most nefarious transactions.' He was ordered not to leave his room until Counsellor Schneider, who was deputed as well by the magistrates as by his father, could come to examine him. His gay companions, it appeared, were accused of forgery and swindling; and he learnt that they were all in custody. This doleful intelligence 'went like a flash of lightning through my soul. I saw Margaret in prison—tried—condemned—chained to a log—and beating hemp for life in the house of correction!' Margaret was his first love; and we apprehend that it is to the 'inward feelings' and 'external influences' produced by this impending catastrophe, that we owe the greater part of his heroines, who generally bear a strong affinity to those interesting ladies whom our cruel legislators are so fond of consigning to that rigorous discipline. He was in 'despair,' and 'raved day and night,' till his agitation brought on a severe illness. The conclusion of the adventure is obscurely told. We only collect, that the accused parties were treated with great lenity, probably through the influence of his grandfather the Schultheiss. Margaret was removed from Frankfort, and sent home to her native town. Goethe says, 'it was long before they would give me this information; and I did not take it in good part, as I could not interpret it as signifying a voluntary departure, but as a compulsory and ignominious banishment.' It is afterwards intimated that she was tolerably successful in exculpating herself before the magistrates;—after which we hear nothing more concerning her.

Soon after this adventure, he is despatched to pursue his studies at Leipsick, under the convoy of 'Fleischer the bookseller, and his wife, whose maiden name was Triller;' and here we have a new gallery of portraits, and a chronicle of all manner of insipidities. The name of Gellert is introduced, according to custom with a faithful and unambitious portrait. 'He was an amiable looking personage,'—'he was not tall in stature,'—'was slightly made, but not meagre;'—'he had mild, rather melancholy eyes, a very handsome forehead, an aquiline nose of moderate dimensions, a handsome mouth, and the contour of his face was a pleasing oval.' This comely personage received our author with friendship, although it was with some trouble that he kept up the connexion, as the doors of the fabulist were jealously watched by two servants, 'who appeared like the guardian priests of a sanctuary into which it was not always easy to penetrate.' His prose found little favour from Gellert, and his poetry still less; and the manuscripts were always returned with a copious deformity of corrections, 'all written in red ink.' The literary controversies which often took place in Goethe's company, added to these 'Jeremiades' of Gellert, conspired to unsettle his mind, and to 'make him dissatisfied with himself;' so that after many struggles—'I acquired such a contemptuous opinion of all my works, finished and unfinished, that one day I burnt my whole stock of prose and poetry, notes, plans and collections, in our kitchen fire,—by which I filled the house with such a pestilential smoke, as almost to frighten our landlady out of her wits,'—which tribulation on the part of the hostess appears to have been the principal evil resulting from this rash *auto da fe.*

The account of his first interview with Gottsched is exceedingly characteristic. This redoubted critic 'lived very genteelly up one pair of stairs,' at the 'Golden Bear:'—this sign distinguished the shop of Breittkopf, the great bookseller and publisher, who, partly out of gratitude for the 'advantage which he reaped from the Professor's writings,' and partly influenced by the obvious convenience of having all his workmen under one roof, allowed the learned man a gratuitous lodging. On being announced, the servant conducted Goethe and his friend into a spacious apartment, telling them at the same time that his master was coming; but, from some misunderstanding, instead of waiting there, they proceeded into the next room, at the very instant that Gottsched was entering it from an opposite door. This 'lusty and giant-like' goliath of criticism was dressed, or rather undressed, in a 'green damask nightgown, lined with scarlet taffety;' but his 'enormous bald head' was 'without any covering.' The unfortunate valet, who anticipated the punishment which was to follow, ran in through a side-door, 'with a full bottomed peri-

wig in his hand,' which he presented to the critic 'with a countenance full of terror.' It seems that Gottsched was not a little indignant at being exposed to public view, without his awe-inspiring locks; but with apparent phlegm he received the wig with one hand, 'which he dropped on his head with great dexterity, while, with the other, he inflicted such a mighty slap on the fellow's face, that he staggered out of the room:' after which, the learned person saluted his visitors with perfect courtesy and decorum.

Our author seems to have studied pretty diligently at this seat of learning; but his account of his graver pursuits is speedily broken off, to make way for the history of a pleasing attachment which he formed with the daughter of an innkeeper in the suburbs. The host's name was 'Schönkopf;' and though he had married a Frankfort woman, 'he had no great run of business in general, except at the fair time, when many of his wife's townsmen used to frequent his ordinary, and to take a bed there in case of need.' This daughter, the charming 'Aennchen,' was 'young, pretty, lively, loving, and so agreeable, that she well deserved to be kept for a time as a little saint in the shrine of the heart.'—'I saw her daily without any obstacle; she cooked the victuals which I ate, and in the evening she brought the wine which I drank:'—These were substantial endearments; besides which, Goethe and Aennchen sang Zacharia's airs; and, 'we acted Duke Michel out of Krüger, the part of the nightingale being taken by a pocket handkerchief rolled up in a little bundle.'—But as these innocent amusements became at length insipid, Goethe thought it would be an agreeable interlude, to play the tyrant a little, and to sport with this poor girl's affections.—'She bore my behaviour, for a long time, with incredible patience, which I put to the utmost test;—until at last I discovered, to my utter despair, that I had wholly alienated her fondness.' And we gather, that 'his vexation might possibly have done for him,' if he had not diverted his afflictions by embodying them in 'the earliest of his dramatic pieces now extant,' entitled 'Die Laune des verliebten.'

About the same time, he also learnt 'piquet and ombre;' and was laughed out of his old-fashioned wardrobe, and the provincialisms of the upper German dialect. He continued his studies in the arts too, with great vigour; and went to Dresden to see the Elector's gallery. He had another motive, indeed, for this visit—he was 'enthusiastically' desirous of having a personal interview with an eccentric cobler—the cousin of a poor student of divinity, who occupied a room on the same *flat* with Goethe. The cobler's letters to his relation excited Goethe's wish to become acquainted with the

author, on account of the 'homely philosophy with which he appeared to reconcile himself to the hardships of his station.' He lodged in the cobler's stall, accordingly, during his residence at Dresden,—and they parted 'on the best terms;' —although we suspect that his host's philosophy had become rather burthensome.

Various causes contributed to impair his health during his residence at the university—in particular, 'the heavy Merseburg beer clouded my intellect;'—a more sober species of excess—'a copious indulgence in coffee, paralyzed the organs of digestion;' and soon after his return to Frankfort in 1768, he became worse. His complaints, though not altogether imaginary, (for he was afflicted with a dangerous swelling in his neck), were aggravated by the hypochondriac cast of his mind, which, however, was much alleviated by his conferences with a nice old lady, one Madam Von Klettenburg, who was a follower of the celebrated Count Zinzendorf; and Goethe informs us, that her letters and conversations formed the groundwork of those precious effusions of tender mysticism, entitled the Confessions of an Amiable Mind (Die bekentnisse einer Schönen seele) inserted in his favourite novel, William Meister's Year of Apprenticeship. In her society, he improved apace in the study of Theosophy and the Christian Cabala; his surgeon and his physician being both mystically pious—and the latter pretending to cure all diseases by means of an arcanum—a wonderful salt of which he alone possessed the receipt. Madam Von Klettenburg, on her part, had long amused herself with the secret study of 'Welling's Opus Mago-Caballisticum,' although she had not yet been able to discover any meaning whatever in this profound author; and as she anticipated great assistance from Goethe, as he was a student and could talk latin, she endeavoured to induce him to become a fellow-labourer. Goethe was easily inoculated with the disease, and procured the work. —As Welling abounds with references to his Hermetic predecessors, our Rosicrusians were not contented, until they procured the 'Azoth of the philosophers,' and the 'triumphal car of Antimony.' And, during the long winter evenings, the coterie of adepts, which consisted of Goethe and his mother, and Madam Von Klettenburg, found almost as much delight in bewildering themselves in the impenetrable allegories contained in these relations from Minheer Dousterswivel's library, as could have been afforded by the most complete revelation of the mysteries which they shroud. Goethe's indigestion brought on alarming symptoms; but the account of his illness and recovery must be given in his own words; and we must leave it to our readers to judge on the question of 'truth and fiction.' 'I

imagined,' he says, that 'I was on the point of death, and none of the remedies which had been employed would afford me any further relief. When I was in this dangerous state, my anxious mother earnestly entreated the physician to have recourse to his universal medicine. After great hesitation, he hastened home in the middle of the night, and returned with a little phial filled with a chrystallized salt, which was dissolved in water, and thus administered. It had a decided alkaline taste. Scarcely had the salt been swallowed when the distressing symptoms were alleviated, and the complaint took another turn which gradually led to a perfect cure. I need not add how much this cure strengthened our faith in the skill of the physician, and excited our diligence to participate in the possession of such treasures.' So to work they went. All Madam Klettenburg's retorts, and pelicans, and alembics, were in activity. The processes were conducted according to the doctrines of Welling, in which they were guided by the wonder-working physician. They operated upon iron, from which a universal medicine might indubitably be obtained, if the obstinate metal could be made to yield it; and upon alkalies which were 'thought to combine the elements of the mystic neutral salt of the philosophers.' Goethe fitted up a little laboratory in the garret, consisting of a blast-furnace and a sand-bath; and he soon acquired a dexterous 'knack in breaking off the necks of his boltheads and retorts, by the application of a burning match,' and in preparing the liquor silicum.

After the miraculous cure of his indigestion, it was determined that he should finish his studies at Strasburgh, to which he is immediately forwarded by the diligence—and is so much struck with the magnificence of the Minster spire, that he composes a dissertation to prove that what was generally called the Gothic, ought properly to be called the German style of architecture—as it was called in fact by the early Italian architects. He made another use too of this colossal monument; for, being liable to giddiness on looking down from a great height, he accustomed himself to stand on the top of this steeple till he was no longer sensible of his infirmity.

Notwithstanding the length of time which had elapsed since Alsace had been dismembered from the empire, and added to the French monarchy, the city of Strasburgh was yet in fact a German town, both in language and in manners, except that Parisian fashions were gradually gaining ground amongst the richer families. During his residence at Leipsick, it has been noticed that Goethe had begun to rub off the primitive simplicity of a Frankfort citizen. At Strasburgh he made further advances in civilization, all of which are accurately detailed;

he was initiated into the mysteries of 'whist;' and furnished himself with a card purse, 'which was always to remain inviolable.' His head also was placed under the care of a Strasburgh friseur; who, though his hair was remarkably fine, not only tied part of it in a bag, but insisted upon eking out the remainder with a row of false curls—to conceal which falsity it was necessary for the unhappy bard to be in full powder from the earliest hour of the morning—and to walk very leisurely in shoes and silk stockings, under which, however, he wore coverings of fine leather, to secure himself from the 'attacks of the gnats of the Rhine, which spread themselves in the fine summer evenings over all the neighbouring meadows and gardens.' —With all this finery, it was impossible to neglect the art of dancing; and we have, accordingly, a long account of his studies in this department, under a distinguished French master, whose two daughters unluckily fell in love with him at the same moment. The amatory ballet concludes with a *pas de trois*, well worthy the attention of the managers of the opera. Goethe was enjoying a tender interview with Emilia, which, moreover, was to be the last, when the side door flew open, and her sister rushed in, 'dressed in a light, but becoming *night-gown.*' High words arose between the rivals; and, when he thought it advisable to steal away, Lucinda made a desperate attack upon the intimidated object of her affections,—'she caught hold of me by the head, and grasped my locks with both her hands.'—They happened not to be the borrowed locks; and he could not disengage himself from the talons of the furious fair one, who 'kissed me repeatedly on the mouth.'—'Now, exclaimed she, hear my curses: may every misfortune fall, for ever and ever, upon the female who shall next taste these lips.'—Then turning to her sister, she vociferated, 'Venture if you dare!'—then turning to Goethe—'And as for you, Sir, off with you—off with you as fast as you can.' She had no need to tell me so twice.—'I flew down stairs, with the firm resolution of never entering the house again.'

About this time the celebrated Herder visited Strasburgh, and was of course introduced to our author;—but there was no great love between them. The philosopher, it seems, was a little irritable and dogmatic, and indulged in a coarse sort of raillery, which did not suit the poet at all. He is extremely pathetic on the subject of some impertinent puns which Herder had made on his name. 'It was not wellbred'—he exclaims—'in Herder, to allow himself to take such liberties with my name; for the *surname* of a man is not like a cloke, which only hangs loose upon him, but it is like a complete and well fitting suit of clothes, —nay, it adheres to him all over like his skin, which cannot be

fretted or slashed without hurting the man himself.' He had also lent money to the philosopher, who was slow in paying it back, and did not express sufficient gratitude for the accommodation. They agreed, however, in admiring the Vicar of Wakefield:—and Goethe had soon the good fortune to meet with the living counterparts of Dr Primrose and his amiable family, at the parsonage of Drusenheim, 'six German miles from Strasburgh,' and ingeniously contrived to get up a little novel on the occasion. First he was introduced there in the disguise of a threadbare student of divinity; he made his second appearance in the dress of 'George,' the son of the alehouse-keeper at Drusenheim; and at last he shone forth in his own proper person. 'Every thing here' reminded him of the Wakefield family; and when the youngest son, who had been long announced, bounced into the room 'almost without noticing the visitors'—'I could hardly help crying out, Moses art thou here also!' As to the rest of the family, the father was 'short, rather reserved in his manner,' and yet 'friendly,'—'the mother was tall and spare, though not more than became her years.' Then there were two daughters of course—the eldest a strapping wench, lively and impetuous. Goethe, however, did not fall in love with her—he fell in love with the other sister Friedrike, who had a '*pretty little pug-nose*,' 'which bobbed about in the air as freely as if there was no such thing as sorrow in the world.' All this was quite irresistible, and Goethe became her declared admirer. We have all the particulars of the affair, which are inconceivably interesting—an interview on the garden bench, inscribed 'Friedricken's Ruke,' or Frederica's resting place, when she exclaimed,—'You wicked man, how you have frightened me!'—a reading of Hamlet, when Frederica 'sighed occasionally,' and 'deep blushes tinted her cheeks,'—and abundance of evening walks, water parties, and lonely excursions to the islands of the Rhine. The culinary accompaniments are delightful, and in the true Homeric taste.—'We unmercifully transported the chilly inhabitants of the clear river, into the kettle, on the gridiron, and in the boiling fat.' These delicious repasts, however, were woefully disturbed by the gnats of the Rhine, whose venemous attacks provoked him so highly, that when he came back one evening to the parsonage, he 'broke out in blasphemous expressions in the presence of the good, clerical master of the house.' The 'pious old gentleman' was much scandalized, but luckily 'he could take a joke;' and Goethe made so excellent an one on the spur of the occasion, that the old man 'laughed.'—This *bon mot* was, that 'he begged he might be allowed to suppose,' that Paradise, after the fall, was 'guarded by the great gnats of the Tigris and the Euphrates.' This courtship would have furnished matter for a novel in duodecimo—

though the catastrophe is not extremely creditable to the hero; for he avows with great tranquillity, that when he had entertained himself sufficiently with the love of the inexperienced Frederica, he deliberately and dispassionately took leave of her in writing, and discarded her for ever. Her answer convinced him that he had inflicted 'the deepest wound in the purest breast.' His '*repentance*,' as he calls it, was 'boundless:' and accordingly he demonstrated it by 'wandering in the open air, in the fields and woods,' and singing 'hymns and dithyrambics.' And he thinks that the 'characters of the two Marias in Goetz of Berlichingen and Clavigo, and the poor appearance made by these lovers,' were the results of the analysis of his own penitent reflections. His 'partial confessions,' he thinks, made him worthy of receiving 'absolution' for the trifling sin of destroying the peace of a girl, whom he represents as a pattern of modesty and simplicity, and who lived in contented retirement and innocent happiness, until she unfortunately encountered this advocate for 'romance in domestic life.'

In these laudable occupations, Goethe had nearly forgotten that he had been sent to Strasburgh to take his degree; and that he had promised to gratify his father by an elaborate 'Dispatation.' After some time, however, he did compose a discourse on the right of the Legislature to establish a national religion—which the theological faculty thought too bold to be printed—though his father, on his return to Frankfort, was so well pleased with it, that he spent some time in preparing it with his own hand for the press. He took his degree in 1768, and had gained a certain degree of reputation. He used to read his MS. to a circle of admiring friends who encouraged him to prosecute his plans, and who roused him when he appeared sluggish. Faustus was far advanced, and Goetz of Berlichingen was fully 'conceived and planned.' About this time he formed an acquaintance with Merk, the paymaster of the war department at Darmstadt—'a man who,' according to Goethe's favourite expression, 'had the greatest influence on my life.' Merk, as he is pourtrayed by his admirer, 'was tall and lean; a sharp projecting nose particularly distinguished itself in his countenance, and his light blue eyes, which were *perhaps* grey, gave his restless glances a tiger-like appearance.' This interesting person, according to his friend's account of him, 'felt an invincible inclination to be a knave,' nay, a rascal—all out of 'principle.'—Notwithstanding his 'whims,' he was 'naturally a worthy and noble character, mild and intelligent;' only there was never any certainty that he would not 'attempt to do you a mischief.' This is the substance of Goethe's delineation; and as he had a secret conviction that Merk never would show himself in 'his hateful shape,' he became strongly attached to this

amiable creature, to whom he gives the appropriate appellation of the Demon Mephistophiles.

The year after this, our author went to Wetzlar, where he continued his legal studies, which were sweetened by his attachment to the intended bride of a fellow student. This bride, we are given to understand, is to be considered as the prototype of Werther's Charlotte. The bridegroom was 'honest and unsuspecting,' and introduced 'every one whom he valued to his intended bride;' and as he was busy during the greater part of the day, 'he was very happy if she could entertain herself during his absence, by passing the time in social walks and country parties with his male and female friends.' Goethe and the lady became inseparable;—and the good creature of a bridegroom used to join them in their walks, whenever he had an opportunity. The whole three were thoroughly pleased with each other, 'and made a genuine German Idyl' of their lives;—they 'refreshed themselves by wandering in the rich corn fields in the dewy morning hour, and listened to the lark,' &c. &c. His love for this lady was speedily succeeded by a lively passion for the eldest daughter of Monsieur La Roche at Coblentz; which sudden turn of the heart draws forth the following judicious observation from our author, 'that it is a most agreeable sensation when a new attachment begins to rise within us, before the old one has wholly subsided;—even as it is an agreeable sight to behold the moon rising on the opposite side of the horizon to the setting sun, and we rejoice at the double illumination afforded by the two luminaries of heaven!'

In the midst of these distractions, his Goetz of Berlichingen was at last finished. It was shown to Merk, from whom he obtained a friendly but impartial opinion. Herder returned it with an unmerciful critique, accompanied as usual by a 'doggrel epistle,' full of 'contemptuous nicknames.' The work was afterwards revised, and in many places new written: but there was great difficulty in getting it printed. At last, Merk and he resolved to buy paper, and print it at their own risk. Its success was extremely flattering: it created an uncommon sensation in the 'reading world;'—it was universally inquired after: And as the proprietors could not transmit the copies as fast as they were wanted, it was immediately pirated. The returns, however, came in slowly; and while 'the world was admiring the drama,' the luckless author was in great perplexity for want of funds to 'pay for the paper;' by means of which, 'the world became acquainted with his abilities.' Other plagues appeared in the shape of critiques and criticisms. But he was not destitute of defenders. Wieland took the young author under his protection, and refuted the most elaborate of these attacks; and Bürger 'expressed his conviction, that it was the work of an original genius.'

But he was most amused by the proposition of an enterprizing bookseller, who wanted him to contract to furnish a dozen more plays of the same nature every year, for which he promised to pay a liberal sum. Though not quite equal to this, Goethe's industry was roused; and during the period that Goetz of Berlichingen was 'passing through its different stages,' other undertakings were suggesting themselves to his mind—and, in particular, something in exaltation of a noble suicide. He had been very early impressed with the heroism of the Emperor Otto, who is said to have stabbed himself to the heart out of compassion for his people, thus terminating a civil war by an act of self-immolation. The worthy author, indeed, assures us, that he had a decided penchant for suicide in his own person; and among his collection of weapons, he set a great value on a 'rich and highly-polished dagger,' which he used to keep at nights close to his bed-side, and often endeavoured to 'try whether he could not stick the sharp point a couple of inches deep into his breast,' a feat which he candidly acknowledges he 'was never able to perform.' However, he bestowed much thought upon the subject, and became very perfect in the theory, although he had some little repugnance to the practice. He has given us the heads of a curious dissertation on this pleasing subject—from which we can afford to extract but one sentence or two, by way of specimen. 'It is so unnatural for a man to get rid of himself, and not merely to do himself an injury, but to *annihilate* himself completely, that he usually has recourse to *mechanical means*, for the purpose of accomplishing his intent.' Goethe discovers, that these 'mechanical means' have respectively various recommendations or objections. 'Women seek to cool their despair in the water;'—'hanging is an ignoble death, and therefore people are not fond of resorting to it,' 'except in England, where it is usually the first which is thought of,' because the gallows is such a familiar sight to an Englishman, 'and the punishment is not considered as disgraceful.' Goethe was naturally anxious to embody these and other valuable observations in some popular production: but he was in want of a proper fable, when, most fortunately for posterity, who would otherwise have been deprived of Werther and all his sorrows, he 'suddenly heard of the death of *young Jerusalem.*' Goethe had known young Jerusalem at Wetzlar. He was the son of old Jerusalem, the 'liberal minded and pathetic preacher;' and his person and costume are delineated by Goethe, with the attention to which we have so often adverted.—'He was of the middle size,—well built,—had a face which was rather round than long,—soft and quiet features,—blue eyes, which were not remarkably expressive, but very attractive,'—and, in short, 'he was a handsome, fair complexioned

youth.' He dressed in the 'English fashion, a blue frock, buff-coloured waistcoat, breeches of the same, and boots with brown tops.' This interesting swain had the misfortune to become enamoured with 'the wife of a friend;' and died a Roman death, in consequence of his attachment. We are not informed to what species of mechanical means he resorted. From his English habits, we presume he preferred a halter. The plan of Werther was immediately formed; and as Goethe happened at the time to be indulging in an amour with Madame La Roche's eldest daughter, who had lately been married at Frankfork,—'the work which I undertook became animated with that glow of passion, which makes no distinction between truth and fiction.'

The ingenious author had previously invented a method of amusing himself in default of company.—'It was his custom, when he found himself alone, to call up the mental image of any person of his acquaintance; he used to beg *it*—(the idea)—'to sit down; then he entered into conversation with it upon any subject which interested him,—whereupon it answered appositely, or declared its assent or dissent;' and Goethe kept up the conversation with wit and spirit. This is no doubt very novel and judicious; but we acknowledge that we are too dull to perceive 'how nearly these mental conversations are allied to epistolary corespondence.' To make up, however, for our stupidity, we are ready to allow that we are now better able to understand 'how the Wertherian letters acquired *such* varied and powerful interest, in consequence of their having been all spoken in ideal dialogues held in this manner with numerous individuals.'—Goethe having thus exercised his faculties, previously to his entering upon the great task of composing Werther, 'he shut himself up in solitude;—even the visits of my friends were prohibited; I divested myself of every thought except what related to the subject;'—and therefore he 'recalled to his memory all his own loves and sorrows;' —'and, after such long and secret exercises, I wrote Werther in four weeks;' and, what is equally creditable to his powers, 'without previously putting on paper any plan for the whole work, or any notes for the treatment of particular portions.' Notwithstanding all this, Werther narrowly escaped a premature fate. The author read it through to Merk, at a time when he did not happen to be in a listening mood. 'He set himself down on the sofa, and I began to read letter after letter. When I had continued reading in this manner for some time, without his having bestowed any token of approbation whatever, I attempted to recite it with still greater pathos: But what were my feelings when I made a pause, and he struck me breathless in the most *shocking* manner, with a cool "well it is pretty enough" (es ist gang hübsch), and bolted out of the room, with-

out adding another word! I was quite in despair.—If there had been a fireplace at hand, I should instantly have thrown the MS. into the flames.' Fortunately there was no fireplace, and the calamity was averted.—'I recovered my self-possession, yet I passed many painful days,' until Mephistophiles apologized, by explaining, that at the time when the reading took place, 'he was in the most horrid situation in which any human being had ever been placed,'—and that he had not understood a word of the novel. Merk's horrid mystery remains unexplained; but we find that, on a second reading, he made ample amends for his provoking inattention:—'he deprecated all alterations'—the work, as he very properly observed, 'could not be improved;' and he wished most anxiously to see it in print exactly as it stood.' This friendly wish was soon accomplished. 'On the very day that my sister was married to George Schlosser, there came a letter from Weygand the Leipsick bookseller, requesting me to send him a work.'—That day was doubly auspicious to the house of Goethe.—'I considered this coincidence as a lucky omen, and sent Werther to Leipsick,' who soon made his appearance, thanks to Weygand's patronage and the lucky omen. However flattering the reception of Goetz may have been, the success of the iron-handed hero was infinitely inferior to the applause commanded by Werther. Goethe says, the effect of this 'little work' was 'great, nay astonishing—and particularly because, as it appeared in a proper season, it created an *explosion* amongst the public.' With a due feeling of its merits, he took little notice of the critics. Yet he wrote a satirical poem to expose the 'unlucky darkness of the ideas' of that Goth Nicolai, who 'busied himself with pursuits for which he was not qualified.' In this instance, the unfeeling wretch Nicolai had the barbarity to print a parody of the tragical tale, under the title of the "Joys of Werther." Goethe is indignant at this want of sympathy for Werther, and his reclamations are really impressive. 'Nicolai did not feel that Werther's youth is shown to have been long cankered by the deadly worm: The author takes up my narration at page 214; and when the forlorn being prepares for the rash act, the intelligent phychological physician contrives to put a pistol, loaded with the clotted blood of a fowl, in the hands of his patient.' 'Being prepared for all that could be alleged against Werther, I did not find these attacks at all vexatious; but I did not expect the insupportable torture (unleidliche quaal) which was to be inflicted on me by the sympathetic and well-meaning souls,' who immediately recognized the faithful representation of the life, love, death, blue coat, yellow waistcoat and breeches of young Jerusalem. The reading world, especially the 'sympathetic and well-meaning souls' imagined, that the whole doleful history of young

Jerusalem ought to be found in Werther's letters.' But they were not aware that Goethe's 'own life and sufferings' formed a material element of the book. The history, therefore, could not be made to agree in all its points; and he underwent such painful cross-examinations from the 'sympathetic and well-meaning souls,' that the natural serenity of his temper was disturbed, and he often answered the questions 'very uncivilly.' Then again, the public curiosity was at work to discover the original of Charlotte. Like the Venus of Apelles, the beauties of Charlotte were collected from many 'charming young women,' although the 'leading features were taken from the dearest;' so the inquisitive were 'able to discover a certain degree of resemblance in many ladies;' and the 'ladies' thus honoured, were by no means anxious to contradict so flattering a report. These numerous Lottchens, *i. e.* little Charlottes, gave him 'endless torture,' because 'every body who merely looked at me, insisted on knowing where the identical Charlotte was to be found.' There was no escaping from their importunities. He thought they would cease, but they proved eternal. He attempted to escape his tormentors when on his travels, 'by trying to preserve a strict incognito;' but this was in vain.—'Thus, it is Senor Don Quixote—as Don Antonio said to the worthy Hidalgo whilst he was riding through the streets of Barcelona, unconscious of the placard at his back—Thus, it is Senor Don Quixote.—Even as it is impossible that fire should remain concealed, so, merit never faileth to shine forth.'

In the fourteenth book of these Memoirs, the chief actors are Lavater the physiognomist, and Basedow, the inventor of a celebrated system of education, with both of whom Goethe associated during a considerable period. Lavater was an amiable enthusiast in religion as well as in physiognomy. He was almost considered as a prophet by his circle of female devotees, whose visits elicited many a satirical remark from 'Mephistophiles Merk.' Basedow was principally distinguished by his aversion to orthodoxy, and the most violent love for strong beer and bad tobacco. He also 'poisoned the air' by lighting his pipe with a prepared fungus, 'which took fire remarkably well,' but which was so hateful to Goethe's nose, that he gave it the elegant appellation of 'Basedovian Stink-schwamm.' Lavater and Basedow were completely opposed to each other in opinions as well as in manners; but they took a journey to Coblentz and other places, in company with our author, without allowing their discordant doctrines to trouble the pleasures of the tour. At the table-d'hôte at Coblentz, Goethe

sat between Lavater and Basedow, each of whom was occupied in edifying his neighbour. Lavater was discoursing with a country clergyman on the mysteries of the Apocalypse—whilst Basedow was attempting, but in vain, to convince an obstinate dancing-master, that the rite of baptism was not at all calculated for our enlightened times. Once, and once only, Lavater felt slightly offended by Basedow's Antitrinitarian zeal; and Goethe also owed him a grudge, because his coarseness had disturbed the harmony of a party, which, our author reported, would have been a sentimental one. 'On the way home, Lavater reproached him; but *I* punished him in a *humorous manner.*' On their road, Basedow saw a public house at a distance. 'The weather was hot,' and he 'longed earnestly for a glass of beer;' for his mundungus 'had parched his mouth;' and when the vehicle came near the inviting and hospitable mansion, he 'commanded' the coachman to stop. Goethe had taken notice of the sign of the public house, and had bethought himself of the joke which might be grounded on it; so, 'at the moment that the coachman was going to drive up to the door, I holla'd out to him with a tone of authority to go on.' Basedow, in astonishment, could hardly repeat his order 'with a hoarse voice;' but the coachman, who must have had his cue, obeyed Goethe. Basedow swore and cursed; and Goethe might have paid dearly for his waggery; for the thirsty pedagogue was ready to pommel him; but at this critical moment his wit saved him. 'I answered him with the greatest calmness,' notwithstanding the impending peril, 'Father, be quiet;—you ought to thank me. It is lucky that you did not see the sign of the alehouse. It is composed of *two* triangles. Now, one triangle generally makes you mad enough. If you had seen both, it would have been necessary to have put you in chains.' Basedow 'broke out into loud laughter' on hearing the 'joke.'—and friendship and hilarity was immediately restored. After this journey, he planned a dramatized life of Mahomet, 'whom he never considered as an impostor,' and which was suggested by the earnestness of Lavater and Basedow in propagating their doctrines, 'at the same time that each had certain private objects of their own in view, which they carefully concealed.'

The fifteenth and concluding book contains a good deal of anecdote, besides Klopstock's opinion on skates and skating. That sublime poet earnestly recommended 'the low, broad, flat, polished skates of Friesland steel, which are the best for skating swiftly'—'so, according to his directions, I bought a pair of broad skates, which I have used for many years, al-

though they were productive of some inconveniences.' A little time after he bought his new pair of skates, he wrote 'Clavigo,' which drama was composed for the purpose of gratifying his 'partner.' To understand the force of this epithet, it is necessary to mention, that Goethe and his acquaintance used to amuse themselves by playing at marriages; they used to draw lots, and each couple was bound to behave towards each 'as husband and wife' during a week. This way of enlivening their parties was first invented by a young Englishman who was pursuing his studies in Pfeil's boarding school. Goethe gives a high character of this young gentleman—he conceals his name—but, as a full description of his person is advertized, we apprehend that his friends must immediately recognize him if these pages should chance to come before them.—'He was tall and well made, slimmer than his sweetheart' (who was of the Madam van Brisket breed); 'his features were small, and his countenance would have been really handsome,' if 'he had not been very much disfigured by the small pox; he had a high bold forehead; his manner was calm, precise, sometimes even cold and repulsive; but his heart was full,' &c. &c. Goethe drew the same partner three times successively; this sport of fortune became the town talk; and as the lady was unexceptionable, his family seemed to instigate him to form a more durable union.

We cannot inform our readers whether it took place or not,—as the work breaks off abruptly at this crisis. From the bulk of the three volumes we have now gone over, it is satisfactory to think how much pleasure we have yet to come, if, as we hope and trust, the work is to be continued by him on the same comprehensive plan. As far as it has been published, it just brings him to man's estate, and contains the history of one novel, two or three plays, and sundry odds and ends of verse and prose. About forty years more of his life remain to be given; and as his works do not fill much more than fifteen thick octavo volumes, these data will enable us to form a rough calculation of the proportion which the residue must bear to this initiatory fragment.

ART. IV. *The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland, being a History of the House of Commons, and of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the United Kingdom, from the earliest period.* By T. H. B. OLDFIELD. 6 vol. 8vo. London, Baldwin. 1816.

Historical Reflexions on the Constitution and Representative System of England, with Reference to the Popular Propositions for a Reform of Parliament. By JAMES JOPP, Esq. London, Hatchard. 1812. 8vo.

THE two authors we have brought together, to form the subject of the present article, are not more in opposition to each other than at variance, as it appears to us, with every just view of our present, or correct notion of our antient constitution. Mr Oldfield is a zealous advocate of Parliamentary Reform, and as bitter an enemy of the *Borough Faction*, as the worthy member for Westminster himself. 'Inequality of representation,' he observes, in his dedication to the Hampden Club, 'is by far the worst feature of that complicated wrong, by which the liberty and property of the nation are given into the hands of the borough faction.' The model he recommends to his reforming friends is the Saxon constitution, under which 'not only the legislative body, but every executive magistrate, from the tything man to the alderman, was elected by the respective *hundreds* annually assembled in the *county* courts.' How the hundreds came to perform their elections in the county court, Mr Oldfield has not condescended to explain to us; but in those halcyon days of representation, he assures us that every householder had a vote in the election of his representative; and he adds, 'if this original right of voting were fully restored, and vested in all the householders or heads of families, who principally defray the exigencies of the state, even if the franchise descended no farther, it would be amply sufficient to destroy the present detestable corruption of the representation, or more properly *mock representation*, of the Commons.' He then favours us with his scheme of Parliamentary Reform, acording to which '1,200,000 householders would elect 120,000 tything men, 12,000 constables, 1200 magistrates, and 600 representatives.' But as this plan might alarm the friends of universal suffrage, he has the precaution to calm their apprehensions, by hinting to them, that 'in case universal suffrage should be adopted, the same system would be equally practicable, though on a more extended basis.' On such crude plans and meagre speculations, it would be an insult on the understanding of our

readers, to offer a single word of comment. Let us see how far Mr Oldfield is qualified, by his historical researches, to suggest improvements in our existing institutions.

The Saxon Witenagemote, according to this learned antiquary, was a representative assembly, composed of deputies, chosen annually by all the householders of the kingdom. This constitution, as he informs us, withstood the shock of the Danish invasion, but fell a sacrifice to the Norman conquest. With the Normans the feudal system came into England; and the great council of the nation, instead of being composed of representatives of the people, was filled with military tenants of the Crown. 'In this cruel slavery and bondage the nation was held for 147 years; till at length, in the minority of Henry III., the Earl of Pembroke, Regent of the kingdom, sent letters of summons to all the barons of the realm singly, and to the cities, boroughs, towns, ports and tythings, to elect deputies to represent them in Parliament, agreeable to the direction of the Great Charter of liberties. Thus the people of England recovered their elective power in Parliament; which great event ought to be held in commemoration for ever, by a day of public thanksgiving, festivity and joy, as a perpetual monument of that great deliverance.' For this piece of history, Mr Oldfield refers us to the close rolls for 1218, where we apprehend it has been shut up, and lain concealed till now, as no historian before Mr Oldfield seems to have been acquainted with the fact; nor will any member, we fear, of the Hampden Club, however quick-sighted in the cause of reform, discover the passage in Magna Carta, which directs letters of summons to be sent 'to the cities, boroughs, towns, ports and tythings, to elect deputies to represent them in Parliament.' The only ground we can discover for this proposed addition to our Parliamentary history, is a writ in the close roll of the 2d of Henry III. to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, transmitting to him the great charters, and directing him to publish them 'in pleno comitatu tuo, convocatis baronibus, militibus et omnibus libere tenentibus ejusdem comitatus, qui ibidem jurent fidelitatem nostram.'* Not content with this instance of a Parliament chosen after the Saxon model, Mr Oldfield next informs us, that after the battle of Lewes, a Parliament was called by the Barons, composed of representatives from counties, 'chosen by the universal suffrage of the householders;' and, with the same confidence of assertion, and contempt of history, he adds, that in the time of Edward I., 'the right of electing members was in every householder in each district, the dis-

* Brady, History, Append. No. 145.

tinction of freeholders and exclusive rights of corporations being totally unknown.'

From this epoch of our history, which is usually considered as the origin of the present House of Commons, Mr Oldfield dates the subversion of the true representative system. Cities and boroughs were partially and irregularly summoned to Parliament; rural tythings were entirely omitted; corporation privileges in towns abridged the right of universal suffrage in the inhabitants; qualifications in counties transferred the right of voting from householders to freeholders; Parliaments, instead of being elected annually, or oftener, were continued for several sessions; and, at length, the members of the long Parliament, which met in 1640, had the audacity, 'impiously and treacherously,' to make a law, which took from the King the power of dissolving them. The 'stupid people' of England, it seems, 'rejoiced over this enslaving act, and deemed it a conquest over the King;' which gives Mr Oldfield occasion to remark, that 'England has been mad several times since that period, but this was the greatest fit of frenzy she ever had.' The 'impious' example of the 'rebel' Parliament, for so this reformer denominates that great assembly, was but too closely followed in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and George I. Triennial and septennial bills were passed, qualifications of property were required for members of Parliament, and the rights of electors were either infringed by statutes, or left at the mercy of capricious, and often contradictory decisions of the House of Commons. Every abuse in Parliament has increased, in Mr Oldfield's opinion, since the Revolution of 1688; 'from which he does not hesitate to date the downfall of our constitution.' The chief objects, indeed, of his obloquy, are 'the rebel House of Commons,' of 1640, 'King William of glorious memory,' the Convention Parliament of 1688, and Sir Robert Walpole 'the father of corruption.' Such are the beacons erected by this judicious and enlightened reformer, to warn the gentlemen of the Hampden Club from the paths and pitfalls of slavery.

It will not be expected that we should follow Mr Oldfield through his six volumes in octavo. What was obscure in our antient constitution, he has not elucidated; what was doubtful, he has not settled; what was disputed, he has not determined. He has removed no difficulties, and has not answered, and seldom indeed noticed, any objections. What he calls a history of the House of Commons, is a collection of scraps and extracts, purloined from authors of different and sometimes inconsistent opinions, adopted without examination, transcribed without care, and put together without system or coherence.

Declamatory invective, and bold assertion, are his usual substitutes for argument. His quotations are inexact, his translations inaccurate, and even the most trivial facts, dates and names, are incorrectly given in his pages. To take the first example that occurs. 'Tacitus,' observes Mr Oldfield, 'speaking of the Germans *and Gauls*, says, nec regibus infinita potestas, de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus *omnes*, that is,' continues Mr Oldfield, 'the *representatives of all* in council assembled.'! A great council, held by Edward the Elder, 'consisted episcoporum, abbatum, *fidelium procerum populorum*, which last words can only imply the *faithful representatives* of the people'! The Mirror of Justice tells us, that 'for the estate of the realme, King Alfred caused the *Earls* to meet, and ordained for a perpetual usage, that twice in the year or oftener, if need were, in time of peace, *they* should assemble together at London.' Mr Oldfield quotes this passage, but leaves out the word *Earls*, with the design, we fear, of imposing on the Hampden Club, and making the gentlemen believe, that the persons ordained to assemble on these occasions, were 'representatives of the people, chosen annually or oftener, if need were, by all the householders of the kingdom.' We pass over many errors of small moment, such as his asserting that the word *Parliament* came into use in the time of Edward the Confessor; his ascribing the first creation of Peers by letters-patent to Edward I.; his confounding Rollo, Duke of Normandy, with Clovis, King of France; his attributing to Henry VI. the statute 7. H. IV. c. 15, on the election of knights of the shire; and proceed to a question of great difficulty and importance, in which, as too frequently happens, we have the misfortune to differ from Mr Oldfield.

Our constitutional antiquaries are not agreed as to the description of persons who had originally the right of voting for knights of the shire. That county members were, from the first, elected in the county courts, by those who owed suit and service in those courts, is a point that admits not of dispute. The earliest writs that remain for the election of knights of the shire, direct the sheriffs to return two knights to Parliament, chosen 'in pleno comitatu, de assensu ejusdem comitatus,' or 'assensu et arbitrio hominum ejusdem comitatus nominandos.' The question is, who were the suitors in the county courts at the time when these writs were issued. Mr Oldfield is confident they were the resident householders of the county; and, in proof of this opinion, he refers to a writ of Henry I., which contains the following words: 'Et volo et præcipio, ut *omnes de comitatu* eant ad comitatus et hundreda, *sicut fecerint*

tempore regis Edwardi.' ‖ It might have occurred to Mr Oldfield, that the words *omnes de comitatu* were qualified by the subsequent passage, *as they were accustomed to do in the time of King Edward*; but, even without making this reflection, if he had looked to the law of the same Henry I., 'de generalibus placitis comitatuum,' he would have found an enumeration of the persons who owed suit and service in the county courts, and who, in the language of that time, were called *omnes de comitatu.* 'Intersint autem,' says the law to which we allude, 'episcopi, comites, vicedomini, vicarii, centenarii, aldermanni, præfecti, præpositi, barones, vavasores, tungrevii, et cæteri *terrarum domini.*' * And in a subsequent law of the same prince, entitled, 'Qui debent esse judices regis,' we find, 'regis judices sunt barones comitatus, qui *liberas* in eis *terras* habent, per quos debent causæ singulorum alterna prosecutione tractari; *villani* vero, vel *cotseti*, vel *ferdingi*, vel qui sunt hujusmodi viles vel inopes personæ, non sunt inter legum judices numerandi, *unde nec in hundredo vel comitatu* pecuniam suam vel dominorum suorum forisfaciunt, si justiciam sine judicio dimittant.' † If it be objected to these laws, that, though of great antiquity, they are of doubtful authenticity, we have a writ of the same monarch to the suitor of a hundred, which had been granted to the Bishop of Lincoln, containing the following words. 'Henricus rex Angliæ omnibus baronibus et vavasoribus, et omnibus dominis qui terras tenent in Well-wapentach, salutem: Præcipio quod omnes veneatis, ad placitum et wapentachium Episcopi Lincoln, quod de me tenet, per summonitionem ministrorum suorum; et facietis ei omnes rectitudines et consuetudines in omnibus rebus, quas ei debetis de terris vestris ad illud wapentachium.' ‡ From these documents it is clear, that in the time of Henry I., the suitors in the county courts were landed proprietors, who were bound, by the tenure of their lands, to the performance of that service. And it also appears, that none were called upon to discharge this duty, except those who held by a free, in contradistinction to a base tenure.

From the mention of *Vavassors* in the writ last referred to, as well as in the preceding law, it would seem, that in the time of Henry I., the free tenants of mesne lords, as well as the free tenants in chief of the Crown, were suitors in the county courts. The word *Vavassor* occurs in the laws of the Conqueror, to express the subtenant of a mesne lord; § and it is used in the same sense in a writ of Henry I.: 'Si exurgat placitum de divisione

‖ Wilkins, p. 305. * Ib. p. 240. † Ib. p. 247.
‡ Brady, General Preface, p. 51. § Wilkins, p. 233.

terrarum, si est inter barones meos dominicos, tractetur placitum in curia mea: Et si est inter vavassores duorum dominorum, tractetur in comitatu.' * A passage in the laws of the same prince confirms this conclusion, and seems to place it beyond doubt. 'Si quis baronum regis *vel aliorum* comitatui secundum legem interfuerit.' † But if subtenants were suitors in the county courts, they formed part of the community of the county, and must have voted from the first in elections of knights of the shire. A contrary opinion indeed has been held by some learned authors, whose sentiments on this point have been adopted by no less eminent authorities than Mr Hume and Sir William Blackstone. According to these authors, no persons were electors of knights of the shire for many ages after the Conquest, except tenants in chief of the Crown. This opinion was insinuated by Dr Brady, and embraced with eagerness by Mr Carte, who expresses himself in the following words: 'It doth not appear that freeholders under mesne lords ever had a share in the elections of knights of shires, till the tumultuary parliament in the first of Henry IV. ¶ Mr Hume adopts the same theory. 'After the fall of the feudal system,' says that sagacious but often careless historian, 'the distinction of tenures was in a great measure lost; and every freeholder, as well those who held of mesne lords, as the immediate tenants of the crown, were, by degrees, admitted to give their votes at elections.' ‡ 'In what manner, and at what time,' observes Sir William Blackstone, 'the election of knights of the shire was invested in the county at large, which formerly was confined to the King's tenants *in capite* only, is a point pretty difficult to determine.' § But notwithstanding these respectable authorities, nothing can be more certain than that, from the earliest elections of knights of the shire, they were chosen *in pleno comitatu*, *per communitatem comitatus*, or *de assensu comitatus*, or *de assensu et arbitrio hominum comitatus*. ‖ And the only question, therefore, to be considered is, who were the suitors, that formed the county court, at the time when knights of the shire were first returned to Parliament.

That free tenants of mesne lords owed suit and service in the county courts, in the time of Edward I., when the House of Commons was constituted on its present footing, appears from the statute called *Extenta Manerii*. Among the inquiries directed

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* Wilkins, p. 305. † Ib. p. 240.

¶ Carte, 2. 699. ‡ Hume, 4th Ed. II. 382.

§ Tracts, 1. 109.

‖ Prynne, Parliamentary Writs, Part 2d, p. 57. 92. 95. 100.—Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva, 143. 145. 149.

in that statute to be made by the commissioners appointed for the survey of a manor, we meet with the following instruction; 'inquirendum est de prædictis libere tenentibus (*i. e.* of the manor) et qui secuntur curiam de comitatu in comitatum, et qui non;' from which it follows, that some free tenants were bound to this service, and others not. In the first Report on public records, * we have an extract of the roll for the hundred of Norman Cross, in the county of Huntingdon, from which it appears, that the Abbot of Thorneye held the manor of Stanground 'in puram et perpetuam elemosinam.' On this manor was a free tenant or freeholder, of the name of Roger Thurston, who held a virgate of land, for the payment of fifteen shillings and fourpence a year, to the Abbot of Thorneye, and the performance of half a service in the county court of Huntingdon, and in the hundred court of Norman Cross; and on the same manor was another freeholder, called Richard of Copmanesford, who, besides rent and certain fixed services to the abbot, was bound to render half a service in the county and hundred courts, and a whole service in the baronial court of Sakele. These men, it is to be observed, were not only subtenants, but tenants in socage. Half a service probably meant, that they were only bound to attend every other Court. County Courts were held every month, and attendance on them was considered so great a burden, that a statute was made to enable the suitors to perform their duty in them by proxy †. In the Hundred Rolls, published by the Parliamentary Commissioners, we have innumerable instances of freeholders, owing suit and service in the county and hundred courts, who were not tenants in chief of the crown, but subtenants of a mesne lord. For instance, in the returns for Buckinghamshire, in the 39th of Henry III. ‡ we are informed that Richard of Turs held, in the vill of Turresheye, one knight's fee of Ralf Piroth, by the service of one knight, and John of Morton held, in the same vill, three parts of a knight's fee, of the same Ralf; and Muriel of Weston held seven virgates of land, in socage, of Robert of Wansi, for twenty shillings; 'et omnes isti debent sectam comitatus et hundredi.' In the very same page we are told, that John of Stoke, and Richard of Midelton, held nine virgates of land, of the heirs of Warin of Mundchanes, for payment of twenty shillings a year to the heirs of the said Warin; 'et debent domino regi sectam comitatus et hundredi.' Thomas of Ikford held in the vill of Ikford, six

* Report, 1800, p. 60. † Stat. Merton. cap. 10.
‡ Hundred Rolls, vol. I. p. 25.

hides of land, of the Abbot of Crestinge, for one pair of gloves, ' et facit inde domino regi sectam comitatus et hundredi.' John of Hasse held the vill of Hasse, in the same hundred, of Earl Richard, ' et solebat inde facere sectam ad comitatum et hundredum.' It would be endless to multiply these examples. It is sufficient to state, that there is no county, of which extracts from the hundred rolls have been published, in which numerous instances are not to be found of the tenants of mesne lords owing suit and service in the county and hundred courts. Some appear to have been exempted by charter; and others are accused of having neglected their service, ' sed nescimus quo warranto.'

Chief Baron Gilbert is the only author who appears to have been aware of this circumstance; and he has proposed a particular theory to account for it. * ' There was a certain set of freeholders,' he tells us, ' who did suit and service at the county court. These were such as anciently held of the lord of the county, and by the escheats of earldoms had fallen to the king: Or such as were granted out by service to hold of the king, but with particular reservation to do suit and service before the king's bailiff; because it was necessary the sheriff or bailiff of the king, should have suitors at the county court, that the business there might be despatched.' Unfortunately for this hypothesis, the manor of Stanground belonged to the Abbot of Thorneye, before the Conquest, † and was therefore no part of the antient demesne of the crown; nor could it have fallen by escheat to the King, so as to have been granted out on different terms from those on which it was originally held. It is more probable, that all free tenants originally owed suit and service in the county courts, ' sicut fecerint tempore regis Edwardi;' and that some were afterwards exempted by charter or custom, which gave rise to the instruction in the statute of *Extenta Manerii*, that inquiry should be made, what freeholders owed this service, and who owed it not.

The appellation of freeholders was not restricted in England, as it has become in Scotland, to tenants in chief of the crown. Many proofs of this might be given; but we shall content ourselves with the following. A writ of Henry III. to the sheriff of Somersetshire states, that the earls, barons, and all others of the kingdom had granted him a scutage to be levied on all knights' fees held of him in chief; ' et ideo tibi præcipimus, quod ad mandatum omnium comitum et baronum et omnium aliorum, qui de nobis tenent in capite, sine dilatione distringas *omnes mi-*

* On the Exchequer, p. 61. † Great Domesday Book, p. 205.

lites et libere tenentes qui de eis tenent per servitium militare.' * It is evident from this writ, that the vassals of tenants in chief, holding by military service, were not only termed *libere tenentes*, but *milites;* on which a question may be raised, whether these *milites* were not equally eligible to be knights of the shire with those *milites* who held in chief of the crown. The writs for the election of county members, make no distinction between tenants in chief of the crown, and the tenants of mesne lords. They merely direct the sheriffs to send to Parliament 'duos milites de discretioribus et ad laborandum potentioribus de comitatu.' The vassals of mesne lords, it must be recollected, were often men of very large estates. In the black book of the Exchequer we find, that Godfrey Fitzwilliam held twenty-seven knights' fees in Buckinghamshire, under Earl Walter Gifford, while Gilbert Bolebech, in the same county, had only one knight's fee, though he held in chief of the Crown. † It cannot be doubted, that in this case the vassal of the mesne land must have been a man of greater weight in his county than the tenant in chief; and that if both had been eligible to represent the county, the former was the person most likely to have been preferred. Such a competition could not at that time have occurred, because there were no county members in the time of Henry II., when this book was compiled; but if proper researches were made, we think it not at all improbable, that among the early returns of knights of the shire, we should find the names of subtenants as well as of tenants in chief of the Crown. We have neither time nor inclination at present to engage in this research; but, from a slight examination of the Testa de Nevill, we are inclined to believe, that some of the earliest knights of the shire on record, were tenants of mesne lords, holding by military service.

It is the prevailing opinion, that in England, as in Scotland, knights of the shire were originally representatives of the inferior tenants in chief, who were unable or unwilling to attend in person, and perform their duty in Parliament. But, if we have proved that other free tenants, besides tenants in chief, owed suit and service in the county courts; and if it be true, that knights of the shire were chosen in the county courts by the suitors who were then present, and that these electors had no instructions to limit their choice but those contained in the King's writ; it seems to follow, that however generally received, the common opinion must be erroneous, and that knights of

* Brady, Introd. App. No. 14.

† Lib. nig. Scacc. Hearn. 1. 189. 197.

the shire have been at all times, as they are at present, representatives of the freeholders of the county, whether holding of the crown, or of a mesne lord.

If it be objected to us, that this view of our county representation is inconsistent with the notions of feudal subordination, we reply, that before counties were represented by knights of the shire, the old feudal Parliament or *Concilium Magnum* had been broken down. It was no longer composed of *all* the tenants in chief, who owed suit and service in the King's court, but of such persons only as were summoned to attend by a special writ. It must also be considered, that our county representation did not take its rise from feudal institutions, but had its origin in the particular constitution of the county courts, which again was derived from the ancient judicature of the Saxons. These courts were retained after the Conquest for the distribution of justice in civil matters; and, though they fell into insignificance as courts of law, they came to be of importance on account of the new functions attributed to them of electing sheriffs, and coroners, and knights of the shire. The remark of Mr Hume, that 'the institution of county courts in England has had greater effects in the government, than have yet been distinctly pointed out by historians, or traced by antiquaries,' is not without foundation. To these courts may be ascribed that mutual sympathy and community of interest between the freeholders and the great barons, in their joint struggles against the Crown, so remarkable in the history of England, and so fortunate in its results to public liberty. And to the same institution, at a subsequent period, we owe the formation of a representative body peculiar to this country, which long served as a connecting link between the military aristocracy and the peaceful and industrious classes of the community; and when finally merged in the representation of the cities and boroughs, contributed to elevate the great body of the nation to that weight and importance in the State, which have been the main source of all that is excellent or admirable in our constitution.

It has been supposed by Mr Carte, that the statute of 7 Henry IV. cap. 15, first gave to the tenants of mesne lands, a legal right to vote for knights of the shire. If the view we have taken of the subject be correct, this opinion must be groundless. Nor do the words of that statute authorize the conclusions that have been drawn from them. The object of the Legislature in its enactment, was to prevent the fraudulent practices of sheriffs in the election of county members; and for that purpose, the return was directed to be made in the form of an

indenture, with the names of the electors subjoined to it. But the statute also ordains, that all present at the county court on the day of election, 'as well suitors, duly summoned for that cause *as others*,' should attend to the election. From the words *as others*, it has been supposed, that the statute gave the elective suffrage to all persons who happened to be present in the county court, whether suitors or not; but the interpretation of Sir William Blackstone seems more probable, that this clause was meant to restrain the partiality of sheriffs, who summoned what freeholders they pleased, and admitted those only to vote, who were actually summoned. This statute, which is still the great safeguard of the freedom of election, has been violently abused by the partisans of prerogative, because it was made in the reign of Henry IV., whom these gentlemen consider an usurper, though he was called to the throne by the two Houses of Parliament, and for as urgent reasons as King William himself. Mr Jopp, an author of this description, whose work we are next to examine, has the assurance to write, that this statute was enacted 'contrary to the declared sense of the Commons, for the purpose of supporting an illegitimate possessor of the Crown;' though he must have had before him the rolls of Parliament, in which the statute is to be found, word for word, among the petitions of the Commons. *

The statute of 8. Henry VI. cap. 7. limiting the right of suffrage in counties to freeholders of forty shillings annual income from their freehold, was the first of our disqualifying acts. Before that time, every minute freeholder was admitted to poll, without any restriction as to value; as is still the case with regard to coroners and verderers. Whether the grounds on which this act was passed were real or pretended, cannot now be ascertained. Both the preamble and enactment are in strict conformity with the petition of the Commons. To question its legality, or to say that no lawful Parliament has sat in England since the passing of this act, implies an ignorance of the first principles of our constitution. The Parliament of England is the supreme authority of the State. Its acts may be wrong; but they cannot be illegal. Its proceedings may be so unjust, and redress from peaceable remonstrance may be so hopeless, as to justify resistance; and if that resistance is successful, the people may establish a different form of government: But, under our present constitution, there is no legal appeal from the decision of Parliament, but by petition to Parliament itself.

To return to Mr Oldfield. The four last volumes of his

* Rolls, 3. p. 601. No. 139.

book are occupied with a history of the counties, cities, and boroughs of Great Britain and Ireland; and are, in fact, a republication of a history of the boroughs, published more than twenty years ago (we believe) by the same author; with considerable additions, and some alterations. The value of such a compilation must depend on the care and fidelity with which it is executed. We have looked into some of the articles, and found, with surprise, that no mention is made of the Hampshire contest in 1806, and no account given of the Bedfordshire election in 1807. The same silence is maintained with respect to the contest for Worcestershire in 1806: and the many contested elections in the last twenty years at Norwich, York, Carlisle, and other places. The account of Scotland is careless and inaccurate. The Earl of Eglintoun is put down as patron of Ayrshire, and Mr Barclay of Urie as patron of Kincardineshire; though in both counties the opposite interest was successful in the general election of 1812. Baroness Abercromby, by some blunder, is made patroness of Banffshire; and the nominal votes in Kinross-shire are said to be 17, while the whole number of electors is stated at no more than 16.

We now proceed to Mr Jopp. This gentleman professes to be a reformer; but, considering his pretensions to that character, he is a most outrageous enemy of all his brother reformers—the late Mr Pitt, and Mr George Rose, only excepted. He is also a great stickler for prerogative; and regards every institution in favour of liberty as an encroachment on the original power of the Crown. He has the discretion to keep clear of Saxon antiquities, but, confiding in the assistance of Hume, Carte, and Brady, he enters boldly on the Norman part of our story. William the Conqueror, according to him, was an absolute sovereign, who enacted laws, imposed taxes, and administered justice according to his own will and pleasure, with no greater restraint from legal institutions, than the present King of Denmark, or Autocrat of the Russias. The question seems never to have occurred to him, by what possible means could a Duke of Normandy, with very limited authority in his own dutchy, raised to the throne of England by the help of independent adventurers, feudal vassals like himself of the King of France, attracted to his standard by the promise of lands and honours, at once convert himself into a Turkish despot, supreme arbiter of the lives and fortunes, not only of the conquered, but of the conquerors. Mr Jopp will probably tell us, it was the introduction of the feudal system that wrought this stupendous miracle. 'The Conqueror,' he tells us, 'in enforcing universally the feudal institutions, shaped every thing for the support

of his sovereign independent preeminence.' But, in the *first* place, William the Norman did not introduce the feudal system into England. He established, it is true, knight service in England; and introduced some feudal incidents unknown to the Saxons. But many parts of the feudal system existed in England before his arrival. Beneficiary possessions were familiar to the Saxons. Feudal homage is repeatedly mentioned in their chronicles and charters; and even the word *vassal* occurs in their history as early as the time of Alfred. Privileged jurisdictions are frequently alluded to in their laws. Fines for alienation, and even escheats in certain cases, were not unknown to them. Reliefs are described at length in the laws of Canute, under the name of *heriots*. The feudal system was taking the same course in England before the Conquest, which it pursued among the other nations of Europe; and there seems little doubt, that though the Norman invasion had never happened, the same causes that diffused it over the Continent, would have established it in nearly the same form throughout England. In the *second* place, if the feudal system, as Mr Jopp imagines, had been a 'political arrangement, contrived for the support of paramount arbitrary controul in the Crown,' how came it to be adopted by a body of high spirited warriors, proud of their independence, and impatient even of just restraint? Does the answer of Earl Warenne to the commissioners of Edward I. imply, that such notions were entertained of the Conqueror in an age not far removed in time from his own? When that great baron was required to show his title to his estate, (we quote from no author disinclined to prerogative), 'he drew his sword, and produced *that* as his title; adding, that William the Bastard did not conquer the kingdom for himself alone; but that the barons, and his ancestor among the rest, were joint adventurers in the enterprise.' But, in the *last* place, who ever heard of the feudal system being favourable to absolute monarchy? Were Hugh Capet, or Conrad the Salick, absolute sovereigns? Was it for the subversion of an institution propitious to royal authority, that Lewis the Gross, and other kings of France, gave charters of community to towns, in order to form a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of their barons? Was it not rather the downfall of the feudal system that first exalted the royal authority in Europe, and prepared the way for absolute monarchy among the nations of the Continent?

Mr Jopp, however, is of a different opinion. He has little doubt, that 'for many generations after the Conquest, there was no law of paramount effect to the will of the prince, when (as it often happened) he was disposed to pursue it.' He ad-

mits, that ' during the reign of William, the *commune concilium* was held *ex more* at the fixed Court festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas;' and he adds ' If any national concern was *discussed* in that general assembly, it was on these occasions. There is, however, hardly any account of the proceedings in them, unless sometimes on ecclesiastical affairs; and although all formal acts then promulgated were said to be by the advice or consent of the archbishops, bishops, &c. and barons, there is no instance of dissent, or even of debate, upon any measure intended by the King. Discussion might, indeed, be permitted on matters purely concerning the Church, and in which the Crown might be indifferent; but there is no reason to think that the will or desire of the King was ever counteracted.'

That the debates of the commune concilium have been rarely transmitted to us, and that the journals of its proceedings no longer exist, cannot be denied. Most of our early records have perished, and many of the rolls of Parliament, even so late as the reign of Edward III, are lost. The Monks, who were the usual chroniclers for ages after the Conquest, are very brief in their account of transactions not directly affecting themselves and their monasteries. When they inform us, that the commune concilium was held, they seldom add more than a short sentence, stating the business for which it met, and the result of its deliberations. But from this negative evidence, from the brevity of historians, and from the loss of records, it would be a strange conclusion, that no discussions took place in those assemblies, except on Church affairs; and that, in other matters, the will of the King was the supreme law, which no one ventured to oppose. If such was the real character of these councils, our ancient historians had a singular mode of describing them.—' Prisci moris fuit,' says Florence of Worcester, ' ut magnates Angliæ ad natale Domini ad curiam regis convenirent, tum ad festivitatem celebrandam, tum ad obsequium regi præstandum, *et de negotiis regni deliberandum.*' * The course of business in one of these courts *de more* is thus described by Eadmer:—' Peractis festivioribus diebus, diversorum negotiorum causæ in medium duci ex more cœperunt.' † We have an antient account of proceedings of great moment in a council of William I., in which there was a difference of opinion between the King and the other members of the Council; and where, after much discussion, he was graciously pleased to yield to the wishes of his people, and the prayers of his

* Florent. Wigorn. p. 501. † Eadmer, p. 37.

baronage. In the preamble to the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor, (which is at least as old as the time of Henry II.), we are told that the Conqueror, in the fourth year of his reign, by advice of his barons, appointed twelve noble, wise and learned Englishmen, to be chosen by every county in England, and directed them to appear before himself and council, and there declare, on oath, what were the antient laws and customs of their country; suppressing nothing, adding nothing, altering nothing. When those commissioners had made their report, the King was inclined to prefer the Danish law to the Saxon, because it was more analogous to the law of Normandy. The commissioners entreated they might preserve the laws of their forefathers, in which they had been educated. The King at first refused; but, after long discussion, 'consilio habito, *precatu baronum*, tandem acquievit.' *

William Rufus is commonly described as the most violent in temper, and despotical in character, of all our Norman kings. We have an account in Eadmer of a council held at Rockingham under that prince. This council was summoned at the request of Archbishop Anselm, in order to adjust a difference that had arisen between him and the King. The demands of Rufus were inconsistent with the rights of the Church. The archbishop refused to comply; and though deserted by his obsequious diocesans, he was encouraged in his resistance by the approbation of the lay members of the assembly. An attempt was made to deprive him of his see; but the *principes* declared they saw no fault in him, and declined to renounce him as their metropolitan. At their request, the cause was adjourned to a distant day; and when the court was again held, the King, after an ineffectual attempt to extort money from the prelate, 'principum suorum consilio usus, posthabita omnis præteriti discidii causa, Anselmo gratiam suam gratis reddidit.' ‡

The same author relates the proceedings of various councils in the reign of Henry I., in which matters of great importance, both to Church and State, were freely discussed by these assemblies. In one of these councils, held at London, in 1107, soon after the conquest of Normandy, the members debated for three days the question of investitures; and at length decided, that the King should give up his claim of investiture, and that the Church should allow of homage;—and in this decision both parties acquiesced. † Such is the credit due to Mr Jopp's assertion, that 'there is no instance of dissent, or even of debate,' in these assemblies, nor 'reason to think that the will or desire of the King was ever counteracted.'

* Wilkins, p. 197. 207.

‡ Eadmer, 31–33. † Eadmer, p. 91.

Mr Jopp proceeds next to inform us, that 'three great national alterations were made in the reign of the Conqueror; namely, the subjecting of the lands of the clergy to military tenures; the forest laws; and the separating of the old civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the county courts: These were pointed acts of legislation, effecting important changes, both to future generations and to subjects then existing; yet in none of them does there truly appear any trace of deliberative legislative sanction in a general national assembly.' Let us examine the truth of this position.

With regard to the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, we can have no better authority than the Conqueror himself, who says expressly, in a proclamation to the sheriffs and freeholders of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, that, finding the Episcopal laws of England neither good in themselves, nor consistent with the sacred canons, he had them amended 'communi concilio et consilio archiepiscoporum meorum et cæterorum episcoporum et abbatum, et omnium principum regni mei: Propterea mando et regia authoritate præcipio, ut nullus episcopus vel archidiaconus de legibus episcopalibus amplius in Hundred placita teneant. * Mr Jopp cavils at the words 'mando et regia authoritate præcipio,' and talks of 'a fair translation and true understanding of what may be called the enacting clauses.' He forgets we have not the law itself, but a proclamation promulgating and enforcing the law; and he does not consider, that when the law was once made, it became the duty of the King to enjoin his courts to see it executed.

With respect to the establishment of knight service in England, for this is the real point that Mr Jopp discusses, there are two separate questions to be considered, which he has contrived most ingeniously to confound, and thereby to puzzle himself and perplex a very plain subject: First, by what authority was this innovation effected; and, secondly, at what time was it introduced. To the first question we answer, without hesitation, that knight service was imposed by the common council of the kingdom. Among the laws ascribed to the Conqueror, there are two that relate to the due performance of this service; and both of these state, in the most direct terms, that knight's fees were granted in hereditary right, with certain services annexed to them, *per commune consilium totius regni nostri.* † To this authority we know not what ob-

* Wilkins, p. 292.

† LL. Gulielm. Conq. 55, 58. ap. Wilkins, p. 228.

jection can be made; and can only express our surprise, that, with these words before him, Mr Jopp should have concluded, 'there seems, therefore, no ground whatever for believing, that the imposition of the feudal prestations, either on the secular or ecclesiastical fees, was the act of any national assembly.' Modern authors are too apt to consider the introduction of knight service as an intolerable imposition. They forget that, before the Conquest, all lands were subject to the *trinoda necessitas*, one part of which consisted in the obligation of military service. Knight service was the substitution of a more fixed and certain service, for one that was less certain, and more indefinite. They forget also, that the lands of the Saxons were in many cases held on lives, or by a still more precarious tenure; and that knights' fees were granted in perpetuity. The particular year when military tenures were made universal over England, is more a matter of curiosity than of importance. The opinion of Sir William Blackstone is the most probable, that they were 'gradually established by the Norman Barons and others, in such forfeited lands as they received from the gift of the Conqueror, and afterwards consented to by the great council of the nation, long after his title was established:' And the conjecture of the same learned Judge, that 'the era of formally introducing these tenures by law,' was the great council of Sarum in 1085 or 1086, has many circumstances in its favour. Mathew Paris, it is true, informs us, that it was in the fourth year of the Conqueror's reign, that the lands of the clergy were subjected to military service; and he represents it as a grievous hardship. But the authority of Mathew Paris, on this point, is far from conclusive. He lived more than a century and a half after the event, and knew so little of the condition of the Church before the Conquest, as to assert, that, till this act of William, the lands of the clergy had been free from all secular service whatever. But it is a well known and universally acknowledged fact, that under the Anglo-Saxon government, church lands were bound to furnish their contingent of troops for military expeditions, unless exempted by a particular charter. Not to multiply proofs of a position, which no one will venture to controvert, we shall only cite the privilege granted by Edgar to the Monks of Winchester, in which, after declaring their lands and possessions free, he adds, 'tribus tantummodo causis, sæcularibus obtemperent præceptis; rata videlicet expeditione, pontis, arcisve constructione, alias æterna ditati glorientur libertate.' * So far were the Saxon clergy from being unconcerned spectators of

* Seldeni ad Eadmer. not. et spiceleg. p. 159.

their country's wars, that many of them took up arms in its defence, and perished in battle against its enemies. *

On the Forest laws, Mr Jopp is by accident more nearly in the right. We say, by accident; because he confesses he is completely in the dark upon the subject; and therefore, if he has lighted upon the truth, he has stumbled on it by chance.

It may be necessary to remind our readers, that the Forest laws of the Conqueror are not preserved, and that we neither know with certainty what they were, nor by whose authority they were enacted. There is reason, however, to believe, that they not only differed from the Common law in the offences which they punished, in the penalties they inflicted, and in the courts where they were administered, but in the authority by which they were established. Instead of being imposed, like other laws, by the Supreme Legislature of the kingdom, they seem to have been abandoned to the arbitrary will and discretion of the Prince.

Laws for the preservation of the King's game were known in England before the Conquest. Under the Anglo-Saxon government, every man had a right to hunt in his own woods and fields; but if he trespassed on the King's hunting, he was subject to a severe fine, and, in some cases, to a heavier punishment. † The rigour of these laws was increased after the Conquest; and it is not improbable that this change was effected by the sole authority of the Conqueror, though we recollect no historian who says so in direct terms. The royal forests were part of the demesne of the Crown. They were not included in the territorial divisions of the kingdom, civil or ecclesiastical, nor governed by the ordinary courts of law, but were set apart for the recreation and diversion of the King, as waste lands, which he might use and dispose of at pleasure. 'Forestæ,' says Sir Henry Spelman, 'nec villas proprie accepere nec peræcias; nec de corpore alicujus comitatus vel episcopatus habitæ sunt; sed extraneum quiddam et feris datum, ferino jure, non civili, non municipali, fruebantur; regem in omnibus agnoscentes dominum unicum et ex arbitrio disponentem.' This arbitrary government of the forests was probably assumed by the Crown, on the pretence that, being the private property of the King, he had a right to protect them from depredation, and to preserve the game which they harboured for his own use and recreation. Like other usurpations of authority, this prerogative would acquire strength by precedent; and while it continued to be used

* Chron. Saxon. 871, 897, 972.

† Wilkins, 146. Spelman's Glossary;—Foresta.

with discretion, and directed to laudable purposes, it would obtain a sort of tacit confirmation from the silence and acquiescence of the Legislature; but when extended beyond its primitive object, and employed as an instrument of general oppression by the Conqueror and his successors, it provoked the interference of the Great Council, by whose exertions this arbitrary authority was first limited, and finally wrested from the Crown.

At what period the King acquired this discretionary power of punishing delinquencies committed within his forests, does not appear: But that, long after the Conquest, the royal forests were on a different footing from other parts of the kingdom, is shown in that curious and instructive document, the dialogue *de Scaccario*, written in the time of Henry II., by Richard Fitznigel, treasurer to that Monarch. 'Forestarum ratio, pœna quoque vel absolutio delinquentium in eas, sive pecuniaria fuerit, sive corporalis, seorsum ab aliis regni judiciis secernitur, et solius regis arbitrio, vel cujuslibet familiaris ad hoc specialiter deputati subjicitur. *Legibus quidem propriis subsistit; quas non communi regni jure, sed voluntaria principum institutione subnixas dicunt.*' * In this passage we have a clear distinction between the *jus commune regni* and the *voluntaria principis institutio*, and, on this distinction, an explanation given of the difference between the laws of the forest and other penal statutes. Offences against the forest were punished at the discretion of the King and his officers, because the laws of the forest were founded on the arbitrary appointment of the Prince, and not on the common law of the kingdom. They formed an exception to the common law, not only in their administration and object, but in their origin. They were considered by the treasurer of Henry II., an anomaly in the legislation of his country; and, because they were so considered, they afford indirect evidence of the strongest kind, that in other matters of legislation the King was not the sole legislator, but was bound to ask the advice, and obtain the consent, of his Council.

It was no small aggravation of the forest laws, that, from the time of the Conquest, the Kings of England assumed a right of not only afforesting the demesnes of the Crown, but of extending the bounds of the royal forests over the lands of others, which became thereby subject to the Forest laws. This seems, however, to have been an illegal exercise of authority. It is so considered by Sir Edward Coke, † and seems never to have been quietly submitted to by the people. It is a frequent subject of complaint in the time of the Norman Kings, and of the

* Madox. Exchequer. 2. 395. † 4 Inst. 300.

early Plantagenets; and promises of redress were repeatedly given, and as often broken by these Princes. An engagement made by William Rufus at his accession, to allow all his subjects to hunt freely in their own woods, seems to have a reference to this abuse. * A grant of the barons to Henry I, that he might retain all the forests possessed by his father, seems to imply that he should not afforest others. ‡ Stephen, at his accession, reserved to himself the forests of William I. and II., but promised to restore to the church and kingdom all forests that had been added by Henry I. § But intolerable as this grievance must have been, it was not effectually remedied till the reign of Henry III., when the Carta de Foresta took from the Crown its arbitrary administration of the forests, reduced the forest laws to a certainty, and directed all woods to be disafforested, which had been afforested to the prejudice of the owner, after the accession of Henry II. Succeeding Kings, and Henry himself, frequently attempted to evade the performance of this article, but they were firmly resisted by their great councils; and, in the end, they were compelled to yield, and to suffer the Carta de Foresta to be executed in all its points

The Forest laws of the Conqueror and his successors, are therefore no exception to the general principle of our constitution, that the supreme Legislative authority has been always vested in the King and Great Council or Parliament conjointly, and not in the King alone. If he made laws and regulations for his forests, it was by sufferance of his great council that he enjoyed this power, and, like other parts of his administration, the use he made of it was subject to the controul and revision of that assembly. His laws, when found oppressive, were altered and amended by its interference; and the subordinate power of legislation, in which he had been indulged, was at length taken entirely from him, when repeated experience had shown that it was impossible to guard it from abuse. It is curious to observe with what obstinacy and perseverance our Kings contended for this arbitrary branch of their prerogative. The value they set upon it seems to have increased in proportion to the odium in which it was justly held by their subjects. But though they struggled hard to maintain this arbitrary authority, Parliament was equally pertinacious, and forced them at length to abandon it.

The reign of Henry I. is one of the most curious and instructive parts of our ancient history. Modern authors stigmatize

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* Simeon. Dunelm. p. 215. Chron. Saxon.
‡ Carta Henr. I. § Carta Stephani.

this Prince as an usurper, though he owed his Crown to the most legitimate of all titles, the free choice of his people, founded on their knowledge of his personal merits, and of the notorious incapacity of his competitor. * It is idle to apply our present notions of hereditary descent in the Crown to the age of Henry I. There was at that time no fixed law nor established usage on the subject. Birth was one ground of pretension;—the testamentary disposition of the last Monarch was another: But both were subordinate to the choice or consent of the military tenants of the Crown, who may be considered at that time as the virtual representatives of the nation. It is a curious remark of Baron Maseres, and a striking proof of the unsettled laws of succession in the 11th century,—That consent was not only of importance in giving a just title to the Crown, but in regulating the succession to subordinate fiefs. From the researches of that learned and judicious critic it appears, that in France the subtenants of the great feudatories had a voice in the selection of the superior lord to whom they were to pay homage: And from numerous instances in the history of our own country, he concludes, that, in England, 'the election or will of the nobles, or great landholders of the kingdom, was the best title, or rather the only valid title to the Crown.' † In those rude and turbulent ages, valour and ability were necessary qualities in the character of the Sovereign. Birth did not always afford these requisites; and where Kings were not always selected for their merit, they were often degraded for their incapacity. It is the happiness of a civilized nation, and of a limited monarchy, to be independent of the virtues of its chief.

Under Henry I., as in the reigns of his immediate predecessors, great councils were held *de more* at the three festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide; and they were assembled also by special summons, at other times of the year, when required for the despatch of business. Of many of these councils no memorials have been transmitted to us. Our antient chroniclers are brief in their accounts of civil affairs. Though usually priests, they seem to have thought military exploits better suited to the object and dignity of history. But, short and imperfect as the accounts they have left us of civil transactions are, they inform us of at least thirty great Councils, during the reign of Henry I., in which public business was submitted to the

* Gulielm. Neubrig. p. 11.

† Notes of Baron Maseres on Excerpta ex Orderic. Vital. p. 294. 296.

members of the Council, and determined with their advice and assistance. The important question of investitures was freely discussed and settled by a great Council, composed of laity as well as clergy. † Even in matters relating solely to the discipline of the Church, great Councils of laymen as well as clergymen were assembled, at the desire of the clergy themselves, 'quatenus quicquid ejusdem concilii auctoritate decerneretur, utriusque ordinis concordi cura et solicitudine ratum servaretur.' ‡ These assemblies made canons to regulate the lives and conduct of ecclesiastics; decided points of precedence and questions of jurisdiction, and boundaries between rival sees; recommended the erection of new bishoprics, and punished with deprivation persons in holy orders, convicted of simoniacal or other sinful practices. § In appointing to vacant archbishopries, bishopries and abbeys, the King usually consulted with his great Council, and was frequently guided in his choice by their recommendations. ‖ And in this respect, Henry followed the example left him by his father. ¶ In his controversies with the Church, he had recourse, at every difficulty, to his great Council; and demands which he was unwilling to grant, and unable to refuse, he referred to their wisdom and authority. ** A legate from the Pope having arrived in Normandy, with legatine powers to be exercised in England, the Queen, in absence of the King, who was abroad, assembled a council of Bishops, Abbots and Nobles, in London, to take this and other business into consideration: and the result was, that Ralf, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to Rome to protest against this innovation. †† Another Papal legate was prevented from using his legatine authority in England, by a declaration of the King, that he could not grant him permission to exercise it, without calling together his great Council, and obtaining their consent. ‡‡

But it was not in ecclesiastical affairs alone that the King consulted with his great Council. In every part of his admini-

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† Eadmer. p. 91.—Contin. Ingulph. p. 126.—Madox. Exchequer. I. p. 10. ‡ Eadmer. p. 67.

§ Eadmer. p. 95. 102.—Florent. Wigorn. p 662.—Sim. Dunelm. p. 237.—H. Hunt. p. 219.—Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1102.—Annal. de Margan. p. 3.

‖ Eadmer. p. 93. 97. 109. 110. 112.—Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1107. 1123.—Sim. Dunelm. 1129.

¶ Orderic. Vitalis, Maseres, p. 233. 241.

** Eadmer. p. 56. 62. 70. 86. 101.

†† Eadmer. p. 118. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 138.

stration he had recourse to their advice and assistance. In the disposal of civil as well as ecclesiastical appointments, he applied to them for counsel. * A fact incidentally mentioned in the Saxon chronicle, shows what importance he annexed to the assemblies. When ready to cross the sea against his brother Robert, he put off his expedition till after Whitsuntide, because he was unwilling to hold a great Council abroad, or to have it meet in England during his absence. † We are told that he arrested Ralf, bishop of Durham, his brother's minister, and recalled Anselm, by advice of his *Witan*. ‡ Twice he concluded peace at their request; once with his brother Robert, § and afterwards with the King of France. ‖ Before his invasion of Normandy, he assembled a council in London, and, to secure their attachment to his person, promised to regulate his government by their advice. ¶ That his conduct was invariably suited to his professions, it is not necessary for us to show. It is sufficient we have his admission, that it was his duty to consult with his Council in the administration of his kingdom. For the question is, not whether our Norman kings were just and mild princes, guiltless of all arbitrary and oppressive acts, but whether there was not always a legal power in England, known and recognized in the Constitution, which had a right to control them, and restrain their excesses. 'In populo regendo,' says Fleta, 'superiores habet [*rex*] ut legem, per quam factus est rex, et curiam suam, videlicet comites et barones.'

The succession to the Crown was twice regulated by the great Council in the reign of Henry. It was first settled on his son, and, after the untimely fate of that prince, on his daughter, and her heirs. ** Twice he consulted the great Council about his own marriage, †† and once about the marriage of his daughter; ‡‡ and because he concluded her second marriage without their consent, and contrary to their inclination, it was afterwards argued, that they were absolved from the homage and allegiance they had sworn to her. §§ When she had quarrelled with her second husband, and returned to her father, the king, who was passionately fond of her, consulted with his great Council, whether he should send her back to her husband, who had reclaim-

* Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1107.
† Ibid. A. D. 1106.
‡ Ibid. A. D. 1100.
§ Ibid. A. D. 1101.
‖ Florent. Wig. p. 659.
¶ Math. Paris, I. p. 62.
** Eadmer. p. 117.—Florent. Wig. p. 657. 662.
†† Eadmer. p. 56. 116.—Florent. Wig. 659.—Bromton, p. 997.
‡‡ Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1109. Cont. Ingulph. p. 128.
§§ W. Malms. Hist. Nov. p. 99.—Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1127.

ed her. ‖ Such was the anxiety of this prince, even in his most private and domestic concerns, to have the advice and approbation of his subjects.

During the whole of this period of our history, the supreme legislative authority was vested in the great Council, conjointly with the King. We do not mean to deny, that proclamations and orders, having the effect of laws, were occasionally issued by the King alone, with advice of his ordinary council. The practice of our government was at that time, and long afterwards, exceedingly irregular in all its parts. If the interference of authority was requisite for any just and necessary purpose, the mere irregularity of the source from which it proceeded excited little jealousy or regard. Men who had arms in their hands, and were conscious of their power, had no dread of precedents injurious to their rights. From this peculiarity in the situation of our ancestors, and from their indifference about forms, many encroachments were made by prerogative, which it was difficult afterwards to repress; and many pretensions advanced for the Crown, which it has cost no small trouble since to refute. What we contend for is, that, according to our legal constitution, the supreme legislative authority in England, from the time of the Conquest, has been always vested, not in the King alone, but in the King and Great Council conjointly. This, we apprehend, is satisfactorily proved, not only by innumerable passages of our ancient laws, and by the testimony of our ancient historians, but by the authority of the best and most accredited lawyers of those times. 'Legis habet vigorem,' says Bracton, 'quicquid de consilio et *consensu* magnatum, et reipublicæ communi sponsione, authoritate regis sive principis præcedente, juste fuerit definitum et approbatum;' and, speaking of the laws and customs of England, he observes, 'quæ quidem cum fuerint approbatæ *consensu* utentium, et sacramento regum confirmatæ, mutari non poterunt nec destrui sine communi *consensu* et consilio eorum omnium quorum consilio et consensu fuerunt promulgatæ.' After such decisive and explicit authority from Bracton, our readers must excuse us from entering on the objections of Mr Jopp. The charter of Henry I. is in the form of a grant; but it is attested by bishops, earls and barons, as well as by the king; and contains passages, which imply that the Crown was elective, and expressly declare, that both he and his father exercised their legislative authority by advice of their Baronage. The great charter is also in the form of a grant; though every one knows it was extorted by force from King

‖ H. Hunt. p. 220.

John. 'Acts of Parliament,' says Sir Edward Coke, 'are many times in the form of charters or letters patent.'

After the return of Henry from his conquest of Normandy, we find him employed, with Anselm and his great men, in devising means to extirpate the crimes and abuses which had grown up in England, through the negligence or connivance of his brother. § The result of these deliberations, was the enactment of severe but perhaps necessary laws, against the excesses committed by his household and retinue, in his progresses through the kingdom. Cruel punishments were also denounced against coiners of false money, and clippers and debasers of the current coin; and the crimes of theft and robbery, which had formerly been commuted for money, were made punishable by death. These laws are not extant; but we are told they were executed with rigour. Striking examples were made to repress the disorders of his household. At a county court in Leicestershire, held by Ralf Basset and other thanes, forty-four persons, convicted of theft, were condemned to death, and six to mutilation; and in the following year, all the officers of the mint throughout England, who had been found guilty of adulterating the coin, lost their eyes or other members, and were dismissed from their employment. ‡

The Great Council was also a court of criminal judicature. In the reign of the Conqueror, the great Norman barons, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford, who had levied war against the King, were tried in the *Curia Regis* by the *Proceres regni*. They were deprived of their estates; and the Earl of Hereford, who appeared in Court, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Earl of Norfolk, who had fled from England, was sentenced to remain in exile. Earl Waltheof, implicated in the same conspiracy, was tried in the same court, and probably by the Saxon law, as he was condemned to death. * In the reign of Henry, Robert de Belesme and his brother Arnulf were banished from England by sentence of a great council, at which all the principal men of the kingdom assisted. † Similar trials before the Great Council are mentioned in the time of Rufus. Mowbray Earl of Northumberland, and his accomplices, were tried in a great Council at Salisbury, and punished on conviction. Archbishop Anselm having sent his quota of troops against the Welsh, deficient in discipline and accoutrements, was summoned, for this neglect, to answer before the Curia

§ Eadmer. p. 94. ‡ Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1124, 1125.
* Orderic. Vital. Excerpta a Maseres. p. 320–325.
† Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1102. Ann. de Margan. p. 3.

Regis; but, distrusting the equity of that tribunal, he chose to withdraw to the continent, rather than stand his trial. ‡

From this review of our history under the Norman Kings, it appears that the Great Councils had nearly the same functions to perform, which belong to Parliament at present. In conjunction with the King, they possessed the supreme legislative power; and even in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, their sanction was required to give operation and force to the canons of the clergy. In disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, they were appealed to by both parties as the supreme power of the State. While they maintained the rights of the Church, and protected the interests of religion, they checked the usurpations of the Roman see, and were considered by the Crown as its chief bulwark against that encroaching power. They were a court of appeal from inferior tribunals, and had, in certain cases, an original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. Ministers of State, as in the case of the Bishop of Durham, were amenable to their judgment; and military tenants of the Crown, when accused of treason, or even of imperfect performance of their feudal services, were compelled to appear before them, and answer for their conduct. In questions of peace and war; in acts of grace as well as of justice; in appointing to vacant offices, civil and ecclesiastical, their opinion was asked, and their advice followed by the monarch. They were consulted by him in his most domestic concerns; in his own marriage and that of his children, and even in the adjustment of private differences among the members of his family. Their consent was necessary for the settlement of the Crown, the succession to which, in that age, was but imperfectly regulated by the principle of hereditary descent. So early was it an established maxim of the English constitution, that the King must administer his government with the advice and consent of his kingdom.

According to this view of our antient constitution, the King and the Great Council stood in the same relation to each other, in which the King and the two Houses of Parliament stand at present. But though the Great Council had the same constitutional rights with our present Parliament, it had not the same means of enforcing them. The Crown possessed an immense landed estate, from which it derived an independent revenue, sufficient to defray the ordinary charges of the government. If the King disregarded the advice of his Great Council, there was no remedy to which its members could have recourse, except resistance. He was bound to consult with them in the admini-

‡ Eadmer. p. 37.

stration of his government; but when he chose to act in opposition to their opinion, he found no obstacle to his will, unless his measures were such as to produce an armed combination against him. The distribution of justice throughout the kingdom was loose, irregular, and arbitrary. Causes were tried and decided in a hasty and summary manner by the rude and illiterate suitors of the courts. Power was every where the substitute for right. Men of all ranks were in the daily habit of suffering or inflicting injustice in their intercourse with one another, and were therefore indifferent spectators of solitary acts of violence or oppression, when exercised by their sovereign. The King might often crush or ruin an individual baron, without incurring the indignation, or exciting the resistance of his other vassals. It was only by multiplied provocations that he could rouse a general or effective opposition to his authority. It is in this way we are to explain the many arbitrary acts of our Norman Kings, which passed without punishment or animadversion, and which have since been used by prerogative writers as precedents and arguments for slavery. It was at intervals only that the Great Council exerted its power to check these tyrannical excesses of the King and his ministers.

Many causes contributed to the temporary eclipse of the Great Councils, and to the elevation of the royal authority. During the civil wars in the reign of Stephen, the stated meetings of the Great Council were interrupted, and were never afterwards resumed. The confusion and anarchy that followed, added greatly to the power of the Crown. The disorders of these unhappy times required a vigorous administration of government; and the weakness of the law, as it sometimes afforded a reason, so it often served as a pretext, for arbitrary extensions of the prerogative. What was at first done from necessity, was afterwards practised from choice; and the limits of the royal authority became every day more uncertain and undefined. An institution that arose out of the Great Council, had considerable effect in exalting the Crown at the expense of that Assembly. The administration of justice in the last resort belonged originally to the Great Council. It was the King's baronial court, and his tenants in chief were the suitors and judges. But military men, rude and unlettered, with no other guide to direct them but the dictates of plain, untutored reason, were ill qualified to determine the intricate questions of law that came before them. Conscious of their inability to decide on such points, and unwilling to be long absent from their estates and mansions, they were eager to withdraw their attendance, as soon as they had performed to the satisfaction of their

Lord, the service due to him by their tenure. To remedy these defects in the Great Council, and probably to indulge the wishes of its members, an inferior council was established for the dispensation of justice, which constantly attended the person of the King, to hear and decide the causes brought before him.—This court, to which, and to the great council, the term *Curia Regis* is indifferently applied by historians, consisted of ecclesiastics and great officers of state, named by the King; sometimes with advice of his great council, at other times without consulting them. A separate court of exchequer was also established, in imitation of the Norman Exchequer; and on these tribunals, the administration of justice, which had been exercised by the King's baronial court, in a great measure devolved. The obvious utility of this innovation reconciled to it all classes of persons; and in the reign of Henry II., if not earlier, it was followed by the establishment of justices itinerant, who made circuits through the kingdom, and administered justice with greater order, equity and despatch, than the county and baronial courts, where the ordinary suitors were the judges. So little was apprehended from this last innovation, that if not originally established, it was very early confirmed by the great Council.* The effect of these institutions, was to improve and refine the administration of justice, and gradually to bring all causes into the King's courts. The public was highly benefited by these changes; but, from the course they took, every step in the improvement of justice, and progress of law, added to the power and influence of the Crown. The new Curia Regis, as it borrowed the name, so it usurped many of the rights of the Great Council; and when these assemblies ceased to meet at stated periods, and were only occasionally convoked by summons from the King, this spurious representative of the kingdom began to issue orders, and to make ordinances, which were obeyed and executed as laws: Nor was this usurpation of the ordinary council completely repressed by Parliament till many ages afterwards.

In the long struggle between liberty and prerogative, which continued with little interruption from the Conquest to the reign of Edward I., the influence of the Clergy deserves attention. Taken from the body of the people, and elevated often from the humblest ranks of life, by their reputation for sanctity and learning, they formed at that period the democratical part of our government, and served as a connecting link between the higher and lower orders of society. Enemies of violence, be-

* Hoveden, p. 313.

cause their power was founded solely on opinion;—beloved by the poor for their charity and benevolence—formidable to all by the superstition they inculcated—they constituted, in a rude and disorderly age, a sort of learned republic, which was able, in some degree, to check the tyrannical rule of the prince, and repress the lawless excesses of his barons. But they were, unfortunately, too apt to be guided by a selfish regard to their order, and were too blindly devoted to a foreign master, whose views were inconsistent, and interests at variance with the welfare of their country. From their habits and profession, they were friendly to law and order; and by their influence in society, they contributed powerfully to introduce equity and regularity in the administration of justice. But imbibing, from their education, the maxims of the canon and civil law, they adopted extravagant notions of the nature and extent of the royal prerogative; and to their authority, as well as to the artificial form of the feudal tenures, may be ascribed those speculative dogmas about the king and his attributes, which still disgust and offend us in our law books; and, if not corrected by sounder and more liberal principles, would level all distinction between the limited Monarch of England and the despotic Cæsar of Constantinople. It must not be forgotten, however, that on many trying occasions, the weight of the Clergy made the scale of liberty preponderate; and in particular, that to the counsel and direction of an Archbishop of Canterbury, we are indebted for the confederacy of barons, which extorted from King John the great charter of our liberties.

But, notwithstanding the enactment of Magna Carta, and the growing poverty of the Crown, through the heedless though fortunate dilapidation of its demesnes, the independent revenue of the King was still considerable; and it was only when reduced to difficulties, by his extravagance, or by the expense of his continental wars, that he was compelled to have recourse to his great Council or Parliament, as it now began to be called, for relief in his necessities: And it was on such occasions only, that these assemblies were able to exert with effect their constitutional rights, without appealing, like their ancestors, to the sword. Innumerable contrivances were devised by the Crown to escape from this control; but, though the vigilance of Parliament sometimes slumbered, its supreme authority was never questioned, *

* The reign of the Tudors is commonly and justly supposed to be the period when the power of the Crown in England had attained its highest point of elevation. Let us hear what was said at that time, of Parliament, by Sir Thomas Smith, minister of state, and

till an unhappy race mounted the throne, whose vain pretensions led to that memorable civil war, which levelled the pride of prerogative before the majesty of the people. The contest was renewed after the Restoration with all the advantages to the Crown, which the abuse of victory on the other side could bestow; but, at the Revolution of 1688, the firmness of our ancestors again prevailed; the chief magistrate was finally reduced to his proper place, and the supreme power of the state restored to its due preeminence.

From that memorable epoch, the Crown, in its executive capacity, has been reduced to an absolute dependence on the annual votes of Parliament. The constitutional maxim of Fleta has been thoroughly reduced to practice: *In populo regendo superiorem habet rex curiam suam.* Parliament, by withholding or diminishing its grants, can exert, without disturbance or opposition, an effective control over every department of the government. No law or ordinance can be made or executed without its consent. Few measures can be carried into effect without its concurrence; and no minister will dare to pursue any system to which it has declared its opposition. No culprit, however great, can escape its vengeance. No delinquency, however secret, can elude its research. The Crown can employ no servant long, who does not possess, or is unable to acquire its confidence. It is no longer a doubt what Parliament can do, but what it is disposed to do; and therefore the only question of late years has been, whether that branch of Parliament, which has the most direct connexion with the people, and, from its command of the public purse, has the most immediate and powerful influence on the government, is so constituted, as to give the people of England as good an administration of public affairs as the imperfections of human society will admit.

To perform its duty to the public, the House of Commons ought to be so constituted as to give its members a common interest and fellow-feeling with every part of the kingdom, and with every class and description of persons in the community. No one should be aggrieved or oppressed without finding a defender in that assembly. No interest, however small or local,

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ambassador under Henry VIII. and his children. 'The most high and absolute power of the realme of Englande,' says he, 'consisteth in the Parliament.—All that ever the people of Rome might do, either in *comitiis centuriatis* or *tributis*, the same may be done by the parliament of Englande, which representeth and hath the power of the whole realme, both the head and the bodie.' *De Republica Anglorum*, published in 1584.

should be overlooked or neglected, for want of an advocate. No measure should be adopted, without weighing maturely not only the general good it may produce, but the partial evil it may occasion. When conflicting interests are opposed, a fair hearing should be given to all, before any decision is formed. Where relief is wanted, or redress petitioned for, there should be some one present to recommend the one, or enforce the other.

In these respects there is little to complain of in the composition of the House of Commons. There is no part of the kingdom which does not send members to parliament. The numbers, it is true, from different counties, bear no proportion to their respective wealth or population; but no one seriously believes, that because Cornwall has more members than Yorkshire, the interests of Cornwall are better attended to in Parliament than the interests of Yorkshire. There is no class of the community that does not find in the House of Commons persons disposed to assert its rights, and maintain its interests. The poor, as well as the rich, have their representatives. The members for Westminster, and other large towns, where the right of suffrage is in the householders, are the virtual representatives of the lower orders throughout the kingdom. When a poor and oppressed man presents his petition to the House of Commons, through the member for Westminster, he entrusts his cause to the zeal and exertions of one who is returned to Parliament by men of the same rank and condition with himself. The inequality of our representation has this advantage, that, where religious bigotry interferes not, there is no description of persons in England, not dependent on alms for their subsistence, who are altogether destitute of political power. No regular system, except universal suffrage, could give us this species of excellence.

But to correct or prevent injustice or partiality in the internal administration of the country, is not the sole, though a most essential office of the Parliament. It has other and more difficult duties to perform. It is the Great Council of the King, and is bound to advise him in every part of his government, where there is any thing to alter or amend. If his servants are lavish in the expenditure of public money, it is the duty of Parliament to set bounds to their extravagance. If they oppress the kingdom with enormous establishments, civil or military, it is the duty of Parliament to reflect on the purposes to which such establishments may be perverted. If they are eager for arbitrary powers, to be exercised at their discretion, it is the duty of Parliament to recollect how often such

powers have been abused. If they entangle their master in pernicious alliances, for purposes neither safe nor honourable to the country, it is the business of Parliament to punish them for their misconduct, or to disgrace them for their incapacity. If they possess not the confidence of Parliament, it is the duty of that assembly, not merely to reject their measures, but their persons; and firmly, though respectfully, to address the Crown to dismiss them from its service. To discharge these duties, Parliament must possess ability to advise what is best, and independence to act on the opinion it has formed. Of ability there is no want in Parliament; but it may be fairly questioned, whether it has independence sufficient for the magnitude of the trust reposed in it.

The Crown has the constitutional power of appointing its ministers, as it has the power to make peace and war, and many other prerogatives, which, in their exercise, are subject to the controul and approbation of Parliament. If Parliament withholds its confidence, the King must change his servants, and admit into his councils the persons, whoever they are, that possess the confidence of that assembly. Parliament has therefore a negative on the appointment of ministers by the Crown. The objects for which this salutary controul is vested in Parliament, are, 1st, To exclude from the administration of this great country, the odious and despicable government of court minions and favourites; and, 2dly, To secure to the people of England the best possible administration of their affairs, by men of the most approved abilities and integrity, whose public views and principles are agreeable to the opinions, and suitable to the interests of the kingdom. To attain these ends, it is necessary that Parliament, in giving or withholding its confidence, should be regulated by its favourable or unfavourable opinion of ministers, and not by the single consideration, that, however unworthy of their place, they have been raised to it by the favour of the Crown. It ought to consider, whether they have abilities equal to their situation; whether they pursue a system of government adapted to the interests, or conformable to the wishes of the public; whether they are inclined to economy or profusion; and whether they have firmness to resist the private will of the Prince, should *that*, as in the time of Charles II., be contrary to the welfare of the country. If the composition of Parliament be such, that a minister, though destitute of these qualities, shall be able to retain his situation, when once appointed to it by the favour of the Court—and by patronage, and other means of influence, acquire that support in the House of Commons, to which neither his merits nor conduct entitle him; and

if he shall not only maintain himself in office, but plunge a confiding majority of Parliament into measures injurious or destructive to the State—the composition of the assembly, over which such influence can be gained, must be defective, and, if capable of improvement, it ought to be amended.

There are two opposite errors almost equally prevalent on this subject. One party represent the House of Commons as a mere instrument of ministers for raising money and registering edicts; while another set contend that, as at present constituted, it is an adequate check on the ministers of the Crown, sufficient for all practical purposes. That the first of these opinions is a gross exaggeration, appears from the many changes of administration in the present reign, contrary to the inclination of the Court—and from the many important questions carried in Parliament, in opposition to the most strenuous efforts of the minister of the day: And, that the second opinion is equally erroneous, is unfortunately proved by too many facts of our history. If the House of Commons had been an adequate check on the ministers of the Crown, could the American war have had the support of that assembly, after the capitulation of Saratoga, and the junction of France and Spain with the revolted colonies? Could the Russian armament, in 1790, ever have received the approbation of a House of Commons, which was not blindly devoted to the minister? And when that quixotick enterprize was abandoned by administration, in deference to the wishes of the people, could the minister, who had thus dragged the House of Commons through the mire, ever have retained the confidence and support of that assembly, if it had been composed of independent members? If the House of Commons exercised its own judgment on public affairs, could the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures in 1800 have had the approbation of the same assembly, which afterwards voted for the preliminaries of peace in 1801? And, above all, could a vote of thanks for the expedition to Walcheren have been obtained from a House of Commons, that for all practical purposes was an adequate check on the measures and ministers of the Crown? The truth is, that, in ordinary cases, a majority of the House of Commons are ready to support any ministers, whom the Crown chuses to appoint; and, with occasional, and but rare exceptions, to vote for any measures which those ministers chuse to recommend. It is only after long experience of their incapacity and misconduct, and general fears of the consequences of their imbecility, that a majority of that assembly will ever be prevailed upon effectually to check their measures, and drive them from their places. But it is not enough that

tried incapacity should be disgraced, and pernicious measures condemned after their mischievous consequences have been experienced. It is the province of the House of Commons to prevent, and not merely to punish misconduct,—to advise the Crown what is best to be done, and not merely to censure what has been done amiss. Parliament is the great Council of the King, as well as the grand Inquest of the nation.

But in this, as in many other cases, it is more easy to point out the evil than to indicate the remedy. One cause of the reluctance of the House of Commons to discharge this part of its duty, arises from false notions of the nature and principles of our constitution. Some men argue, that because the King, as first executive magistrate, has the nomination of his servants, it is an invasion of his prerogative to attack his choice, until the conduct of his ministers has been such, after they have been raised to office, as to forfeit the confidence of Parliament. To prejudge a minister before trial, has been exclaimed against as an act of injustice—as if the trial of a bad minister were a matter of indifference to the public. Such persons forget that the King has also power to make peace or war, and to conclude treaties of commerce, and even of subsidy; but no one contends against the right of the House of Commons to interpose on such occasions, and to direct the Crown in the course it ought to pursue, before its measures are brought to a conclusion. In all cases it is better to prevent evil, than to correct it after it has arrived. Besides, the King is the supreme executive magistrate by the same fictions of law, which invest him with the supreme legislative and judicial authority. His will makes the law, but only after it has had the consent of his two Houses of Parliament. He is supposed to be present, and to give decisions in his courts of justice; but he decides by the reason, and pronounces by the mouth of his judges. He has the administration of foreign and domestic affairs; but he must act by responsible advisers, subject to the controul and censure of Parliament. He names those advisers; but he must name persons, in whom his two Houses of Parliament can repose their confidence. In no single act of his government is he left to the guidance of his private judgment and inclination. His will directs the State; but it is his will, enlightened by the wisdom of his great council.

Errors of opinion can only be removed by the diffusion of more just notions of our constitutional rights. Defects in the composition of the House of Commons may be corrected by law. Many reformers have recommended a Place bill. If by this measure they mean, that no one holding an office at plea-

sure from the Crown should have a seat in the House of Commons, we have no hesitation in stating our opinion, that such an innovation would be of the greatest practical injury to our government. It is one of the great advantages of our constitution, that the ministers of the Crown are permitted by law, and compelled by custom, to have seats in Parliament. By this arrangement all public measures are discussed and examined in that assembly, in presence of the persons who are best qualified and most interested to defend them. No man can remain minister of State, who is not equal to this duty. No Court favourite—no minion of the back stairs, can insult or degrade us with the spectacle of an unworthy parasite lording it over a great nation. The best and wisest of the country may not always be placed at the head of affairs; but we are secure at least from the domination of the worst and most incapable. But there are some advocates of a Place bill, who would allow the principal ministers to sit in Parliament, and only object to so many subaltern agents of government having a place in that assembly. We cannot go the full length of this opinion. We are aware that these janizaries of ministry are always at hand to vote for any job or measure patronized by their principals. But unless an opportunity were given to young men, of acquiring at the same time a knowledge of official details, and experience of parliamentary business, we do not see how our ministers of State could unite these two acquirements, without which they must either be incapable of conducting the business of government in Parliament, or be compelled, in the details of office, to confide entirely in subalterns and clerks. So far, however, we are willing to concede to this class of reformers, that whenever an office held at pleasure, is attended with no duties to perform, except the signature of a warrant or official order, when presented by the proper officer in the daily routine of business, we see no reason why persons holding such *quasi* sinecures should not be excluded from the House of Commons. Patent sinecures, if allowed at all to exist, ought to form no ground of exclusion, because the holders are as independent of the government under which they enjoy their places, as the possessors of any other freehold estate. We should be disposed to extend the same privilege to floating pensions for diplomatic services. The contrary rule, which prevails at present, has a tendency to exclude men of talent from our diplomacy, and to fill the House of Lords with needy and dependent Peers. Abuses might be prevented, by regulating the amount of the pension according to the diplomatic rank of the pensioner and the duration of his services: And if it were made a right, like the pension of a re-

tired Chancellor, instead of a favour, it would not be a source of influence, even to the minister by whom it was granted.

Another mode of increasing the independence of the House of Commons, would consist in disqualifying electors, who depend on Government for their daily bread, and must vote according to the direction of their employers. This principle, like the former, is known and acknowledged in our constitution, and has been acted upon at different times, and particularly in the Reform Bill of Mr Burke. It is to be considered, whether it could be carried to a greater extent, without disadvantage to public liberty. It is always dangerous for a free government to disqualify any considerable portion of its subjects from the exercise of political power. Freedom depends so much on opinion, that it is an unwise policy to diminish the numbers interested in its preservation. There are so many obvious reasons for connecting the army and navy by every possible tie with the civil government of their country, that no one has ever thought of extending any disqualification to them, though more dependent on the Crown than any other description of their fellow subjects.

The influence given to Ministers by the nature and magnitude of our taxation, is an evil of more serious consequence, and in some respects incapable of remedy. The amount of our national debt renders any considerable reduction of our taxes altogether impossible; and while the same taxes are levied, they must create nearly the same degree of influence. The tradesman, who is in arrear for his taxes, will not refuse his vote to the importunities of the tax-gatherer; and the manufacturer, who is exposed by his occupation to the numberless vexations and penalties, attendant on the collection of the revenue, will be careful not to give offence to those, who may disquiet his life, and rob him of his fortune. The utmost that law can do, in such cases, is to punish severely every abuse of authority when brought to light, and to simplify as much as possible the revenue laws, consistently with the object for which they are enacted. There is one evil, however, of a nature that admits a remedy, and of importance sufficient to require it. Our revenue laws are framed with so much strictness and severity, in order to guard against every possibility of fraud, and are often executed with so much rigour by the interested zeal of the officers employed to enforce them, that a discretionary power must be lodged somewhere, to moderate or remit penalties, and correct what may sometimes be their injustice. But if this discretionary power is lodged in the Treasury, it must give a mighty source of influence to the govern-

ment, extending over every part of the country, and embracing an immense number of persons in its operation. That this power (which, as it now exists, is of very recent origin), has been abused, we have too much reason to believe; and, what in its practical effect is nearly the same, that it is supposed to be abused for election purposes, has been proved before the House of Commons. The remedy we should propose, would be, to take this power from the Treasury, and to vest it in a single magistrate, responsible to Parliament for his conduct.

But the great source of influence to the Government of this country, is the immense patronage it enjoys. Of this, a great portion is fortunately destroyed by the return of peace; and the further reduction of our establishments, which the state of our finances imperiously requires, must still further diminish what is left. Enough, however, will remain to give the Ministers of the Crown, whoever they are, an influence in the country, and in the House of Commons, far beyond the weight due to their personal merits, or to their services. The reduction of useless places is of value, chiefly as a means of diminishing the influence of the Crown; and as it coincides with the popular cry for economy, it is of all reforms the one most likely to be carried into effect. But it deserves also to be considered, whether the influence of Ministers, from patronage, might not be lessened by dividing it; by transferring part of it to bodies, more or less independent of Government, and by sharing what remains more equally among Ministers themselves. Of the good effects of this division of patronage, we have an example in the East India Company; one of the advantages of which, is to prevent the whole patronage of India from being vested in the hands of Ministers. How far local and provincial patronage might be trusted to Justices at Quarter-Sessions, to Lord-Lieutenants of counties, or even to the Freeholders of the county, are points worthy of consideration. It might also deserve reflection, how far the patronage of the permanent Boards—such as the Customs and Excise—might not be augmented at the expense of the Treasury, which, of all departments of the State, is the most dangerous to the independence of Parliament, because it has the greatest patronage in its hands, and uses it most systematically for increasing the influence of Government. It may be laid down as a principle, that the more equally patronage is divided among the servants of the Crown, the less tendency it has to create an undue influence in their favour. Every man has relations, friends, dependents, to provide for; and, so far as his patronage is used for these purposes, it is harmless. It is the remainder,

only, which can be dedicated to corruption. The Chancellor, the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, divide among them, at present, the chief patronage of the Government. But if the whole of this patronage were concentrated in the Treasury, no one can doubt that its effect in creating influence in the country, and in the House of Commons, would be much more considerable. It is with regret, therefore, we observe, that the tendency of late years has been to augment the already enormous patronage of the Treasury; and we are convinced, that nothing would tend more to increase the independence of the House of Commons, than to lessen the influence of the Treasury, by transferring a portion of its patronage to the other departments of the Government.

We hesitate about proceeding farther. Parliamentary reform has never been popular in this country. When the question was first stirred in 1780, the persons who associated and petitioned the House of Commons, were more anxious about economy and retrenchment of expenditure, than desirous of a reform in Parliament; and it was only by connecting the two questions that any considerable party could be brought to petition for the latter. When revived in 1792, Parliamentary reform had still less support from men of rank and property, whose minds were at that time filled with the most dismal, and, as it seems to us, most absurd apprehensions, from the progress of republicanism in France. At present, as far as we can judge, it has still fewer supporters of weight and consequence than at any former period. We regret this indifference, we may say aversion, of the public to a question of so much importance. Convinced as we are that the influence of the Crown has increased, and ought to be diminished, we most anxiously desire to see such a reform of the House of Commons as would render it more independent of ministers: But unless the natural depositaries of power in this country are of the same opinion, we are convinced the attempt is utterly impracticable, and the pursuit of it, on a great scale, not only useless, but hurtful, by diverting the attention of the public from the less splendid, but more practicable opposition to bad measures and to bad ministers. As our subject, however, naturally leads to the question, we shall lay our thoughts on it before our readers without reserve; though we fear they will displease the warm advocates of reform as much as our preceding language may have offended the partisans of prerogative. Our view of the question is founded on no general or abstract theories of representation, but directed to one sole object, which is to lessen the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons.

We must begin, then, by stating, that we are under no apprehension from the influence of Peers in returning members to the Commons. There is no rivality or opposition of interest between the two Houses. Their respective privileges are settled, and no longer contested on either side. The chief difference between a rich Peer and a rich Commoner, consists in the one having a seat for life in one assembly, while it costs the other some expense and trouble to procure a seat for seven years in another assembly. They have the same interests, live in the same society, are educated at the same schools, and connected by the same family and party attachments. The House of Lords is more tenacious of established law than the House of Commons, and more careful and scrupulous in passing private bills, or interfering by legislative acts with the rights of individuals. And this spirit is, on the whole, beneficial to the public; though it often suspends, and sometimes prevents entirely, the reform of abuses. The Lords have less public business to perform than the Commons, and have less controul over the public purse. They have, therefore, less influence on the measures of Government.

The House of Commons may be divided into three classes, or descriptions of men.

The *first* and most numerous consists of party men, whether attached to Ministry or to Opposition. By party men, we mean persons, who usually act and vote together, in consequence of having certain public principles and opinions in common, which they consider of sufficient importance to be a bond of union; or in consequence of entertaining similar views on great points of foreign and domestic policy. Of this description was the party that opposed the American war; the party that united against Lord Shelburne's peace; the party formed against the Coalition and India bill; the party that remained united from 1784 to 1792, in maintenance of the antient authority of the House of Commons; the party that resisted the war of 1793, on the ground that it was an unjustifiable interference with the right of an independent nation to chuse its own form of government; the party who supported that war, on the ground that the conduct of the French revolutionists endangered the stability of every government in Europe; and, lastly, the party that remained together in 1807 in support of Catholick emancipation.

The individuals of a party, though agreeing in one common object, often differ widely on other points. The members of the present cabinet are divided on the question of Catholick Emancipation. The leading members of Opposition took dif-

ferent sides on the renewal of the East India Company's charter. What is called the Whig party, has [illegible]s combined some men friendly to Parliamentary reform, [illegible] others decidedly hostile to that measure. The party, that overthrew the Coalition ministry in 1784, was composed of Courtiers, Parliamentary reformers, and Dissenters. They agreed in one common object, which was, to reject the India bill, and turn out the ministry; but differed on every other possible point. Some men follow the general current of their party more steadily than others; and when new and great occasions arise, individuals or bodies of men, who differ from the rest of their party, separate from it entirely, if they conceive the ground of difference to be of sufficient magnitude and importance to justify the separation. The Duke of Leeds went out of office in 1791, when Mr Pitt abandoned the views and projects of the triple alliance. The alarmists separated from Mr Fox in 1793, on account of the difference of their opinions on the French Revolution.

Besides the two great parties of Ministry and Opposition, there are sometimes small knots of men, united for some object of a public nature, which they steadily pursue amidst the changes of administration, sometimes lending their support to Ministry, and sometimes to Opposition; but generally voting with the Government. Of this description is a well known party in the House of Commons, distinguished by their zeal and perseverance for the abolition of the African slave trade. There are also now and then small squads of a different sort, who make no profession of any community of principle or opinion, but are united by some common views of interest, which they conceive may be more effectually promoted by keeping together, than by acting separately. These men lie in wait for some temporary weakness or unpopularity of the Government, and, taking advantage of their opportunity, sometimes by loud opposition, but more frequently by secret intrigue, get admission into the Ministry, and procure for themselves and their dependants a large share of honours and emoluments from men, who are ready to sacrifice a part, rather than lose the whole. Such a party, or rather faction, is a mere association of political adventurers, who prefer extortion to importunity, and calculate, that more is to be got by menacing the Treasury in a body, than by bargaining with it singly.

The *second* class into which we should divide the members of the House of Commons, consists of persons who vote, in general, with the existing government, of whatever materials it may be composed; either from an opinion that the King's government, however constituted, ought in general to be supported;

or from a desire of procuring for themselves and friends a share of the patronage which ministers have to give. The first is a Tory principle; and, though it appears to us a mistaken sense of duty, it is so far deserving of respect, that the persons who act upon it, though narrow-minded, are often disinterested men. The latter description of persons form the worst and least respectable members of the House. When the conduct of ministers leads to great public calamities, their Tory supporters usually begin to manifest their disapprobation, by absenting themselves from pinching and unpopular questions; and it is only after repeated hints of this sort, and the most thorough conviction that ministers are incorrigibly bent on pursuing the same pernicious courses, that these gentlemen are ever brought decidedly and steadily to vote against them. The second class, on the contrary, are uncommonly alert in discerning the signs of the times; and when a minister begins to totter, whether from losing the favour of the Court, or the confidence of the House, they are usually the loudest and most violent against him, in the hopes of recommending themselves to his successor for a still more liberal distribution of favours and patronage.

The *third* class consists of single individuals, of more vanity in general than talent, who make great pretensions to independence, and boast that on every question they are guided by their own solitary judgment and opinion. Men of this sort are sometimes of importance in the House, when parties are nearly balanced, and Tories and jobbers are doubtful which way to turn themselves. As they are seldom men of solid judgment, when their independence is not a match for other purposes, there is no inconsistency of which they are incapable. They will vote for war to-day, and refuse the supplies to carry it on to-morrow. Their numbers, in general small, are occasionally reinforced, by some discontented party-man, who quits the ranks of ministry or opposition, without the pretence of any difference on public grounds, because he fancies his talents and importance underrated, or thinks his speeches not sufficiently cheered, or his conversation not enough listened to and admired. The half-way house, for such travellers, is this limbo of vanity, from which they gradually sink into jobbing, or dwindle into insignificance.

Of these classes or descriptions of men, the last is too inconsiderable, in numbers and importance, to be objects of legislative enactment. *De minimis non curat prætor;* and, besides, defects arising from vanity are equally incident to county members and to gentlemen who have bought their seats. Tories, that act on the principle of supporting the Government

because it is the Government, without a reference to its composition or its measures, are equally beyond the reach of statutable provisions. Jobbers and party-men only remain. No one, who regards the independence of Parliament, will say a word in favour of Jobbers: But of Party-men there are two descriptions. Those who derive their seats from their personal weight and popularity, or from the confidence and good opinion of their private friends, without the assistance of ministerial patronage, whether they vote for ministers or opposition, contribute in no degree to increase the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons. But those, who are brought into Parliament by the Treasury, or other departments of the Government, though equally honest in their votes and conduct with the others, are the persons that, with the Tories and the Jobbers, enable a government, otherwise weak and incapable, to maintain itself in power, long after it has lost the confidence and support of the country. If the object, then, of Parliamentary reform is to lessen the influence of the Crown, by diminishing the number of members in the House of Commons, who will support any administration that has the favour and countenance of the Court, these are the persons to be excluded, if possible, from the House. Let us consider, then, by what avenues Jobbers and Treasury members usually find admission into that assembly.

The House of Commons may be divided into county members; representatives of cities and boroughs that have at least five hundred resident voters; representatives of places that have less than five hundred resident voters; and members for close boroughs.

1. *Counties.*—We know of no practical defect in our county representation, except that the great size of the counties, and consequent expense of contested elections, deprive the electors, in nine cases out of ten, of the substantial choice of their representative, because no man can afford to bring the freeholders of a great county to the poll, without a large fortune of his own, or a liberal subscription from his friends. We see no effectual remedy for this defect, but to diminish the size, and increase the number of the counties. It has been proposed to take the votes of the different hundreds in succession; but it is doubtful whether this expedient would lessen the expense of the election; and it is certain that it would prolong the duration of the contest. It has been also proposed to take, on the same day, the votes of every parish in the county, and to send the returns to the county town, to be there examined and compared, and the result proclaimed by the sheriff. A better expedi-

ent, as it seems to us, could not well be devised, to deaden the spirit of a country, and extinguish all the pride and consequence arising from the exercise of political rights;—an election by lot or raffle, could hardly produce less sympathy or connexion between the representative and his constituents. Some have recommended, that the elective franchise should be extended to copyholders; but unless this were accompanied by a reduction of the size of the counties, it would only multiply the number of voters, and increase the expense of elections. Others have suggested, that we should raise the qualification of freeholders, and confine the right of suffrage to men of independent circumstances. To this we object, that it would throw the county elections into the hands of the squires, and convert the squires into jobbers. This is our Scotch system of representation; and we know too well the effects of it in our own country, to recommend it with a safe conscience to our neighbours. The yeomanry and small freeholders may be influenced in their votes by the great proprietors, who are their neighbours or their landlords. But it is better that *they* should be led by kindness and courtesy, than that the county should be delivered over at every election to the minister.

County members stand much in awe of their constituents. Whenever public opinion is strongly expressed on any subject, we commonly find a large proportion of county members swimming with the stream, whatever course it takes. But at other times, unless decidedly party men, they are not inaccessible to the influence of the Treasury. They have so many measures to carry, and so many favours to ask for their constituents, that they are under strong temptations to support, in general, the existing government; and the slighter the tenure by which they hold their seats, the more subject are they to this influence. But there are limits to their support of any administration; and, in point of independence, there is no comparison between them, and members returned by ministerial patronage.

2. *Towns having more than* 500 *resident voters.* In some of these places, the right of suffrage is vested in the householders; in others, it is confined to freemen; and, in some again, it is enjoyed by both. The first constitute the most democratical part of our representation; and the members they send to Parliament may be considered the virtual representatives of the lower orders throughout the kingdom. In the two last, the elections are less democratical; but they might be equally independent, were it not for the votes of non-resident freemen, who are brought to the poll at an immense expense, and are, in general, ready to vote for any candidate, who will indulge them in

the riot and idleness of an election. On this subject we have expressed our opinion freely in a former Number, * and conceive it unnecessary to add a word to what we have there stated. The only effectual remedy for this evil is, to make residence a necessary qualification, to enable freemen of a corporation to give their votes at elections. The effect of the present system is to give an influence to money, without regard to character or to principle.

3. *Towns having less than* 500 *resident voters*, but not so much reduced in population and consequence, as to have become the undisputed property of an individual. Places of this description are the great source from which jobbers derive their seats, and Government its undue influence in the House of Commons. In a former Number, we have attempted a sketch of the manner in which this infamous traffic is carried on. But the modes of conducting it are various. It is sometimes managed by a Club or Society of the Electors. At other times it is in the hands of the Attorney, or Parson of the place, who act on behalf of their brethren. Sometimes the whole negotiation passes through the Treasury. At other times, his Majesty's government acts merely as a broker between the parties. Where the manager has acquired secure possession of his borough, he is sometimes tempted by a larger price to dispose of his seats to persons in opposition; but the necessity in which he is usually placed, of maintaining his influence by government patronage, renders him in general a faithful servant of administration; and, when ministers are changed, he transfers his allegiance to their successors. There was a borough-monger some years ago, who could return twelve members to the House of Commons; and, but for a misfortune that happened to him in the course of his trade, it was generally understood, that he was in a fair way of obtaining a peerage for his services. These illegal practices, however adroitly conducted, are sometimes brought to light, and in the instances of Shoreham and Cricklade, they were so clearly detected, that the boroughs were disfranchised by Act of Parliament, and thrown, the one into the rape of Bramber, and the other into the adjacent hundreds. We should recommend the extension of this principle to all boroughs of this description, where the election has been vacated under the Grenville act, on the ground of bribery and corruption proved against a majority or large proportion of the electors. But, instead of throwing the seats into the adjoining hundreds, we should recommend transferring them to the larger counties, which would at once

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increase the county representation, and enable us to remedy the only defect in our present county elections. Yorkshire might in this manner be gradually divided into three or four separate districts; Lincolnshire, Devonshire, and other large counties into two; and some additional scot and lot boroughs might be created in large unrepresented towns. By this operation, the independence of the House of Commons would be gradually improved, at the expense of that part of it which is most under the influence of ministers. The electors of the disfranchised boroughs, who were not disqualified by their participation in acts of bribery, might be declared freeholders of the county.

4. *Close Boroughs*, the members for which are returned by one or two individuals, without assistance from government, and without the risk of a contest. Against this description of boroughs, the strongest prejudices in general prevail. We are far from considering them the worst part of our representative system. The members for close boroughs are often the men of greatest talent and independence in the House. There is one advantage attending their situation, which belongs to no other description of persons. Firmness to oppose the People, is sometimes as necessary a quality, as independence to resist the Crown. But the members for close boroughs are the only persons in the House who stand in awe neither of the Crown nor of the People. County members are in constant dread of their constituents; and though this is on the whole a salutary terror, it prevents them from resisting popular clamour, when the clamour of the people is unfounded and unjust. The proprietors of close boroughs are, in general, party men, and dispose of their seats to persons of the same way of thinking with themselves. This, however, is not universally the case. There are instances where close boroughs are made objects of traffic at the Treasury, by persons who have no party connexion with the existing administration. But if the lists of the House of Commons for the last forty years were consulted, we should find that a large proportion of the steadiest advocates of the people have been members for close boroughs.

On Triennial parliaments, we have only a few words to offer. We doubt whether frequent elections are favourable to the independence of the House of Commons. We fear the tendency of short Parliaments is to increase the power of government, by breaking down and destroying all independent opposition. Let no one imagine that by penal laws, or other devices, he can prevent the expense of elections. While a seat in the House of Commons is an object of desire, it will be an object of expense. But the pecuniary cost on such occasions is, in general, greatest

on the side of Opposition. The friends of Ministry have the aid and influence of government patronage in support of their pretensions; and the more frequently elections are repeated, the greater is the amount of this advantage over their opponents.—Short Parliaments, it must be owned, would lessen the terrors of a dissolution, which, after the examples of 1784 and 1807, must have great effect in destroying the spirit and independence of the House of Commons. The advisers of these two measures may be justly reckoned among the men who, in our times, have done the most irreparable injury to the constitutional liberties of their country. *

* While the preceding sheets have been passing through the press, some additional authorities have occurred to us in support of the argument stated above, that the suitors of the county courts, and original electors of knights of the shire, were freeholders of all descriptions, whether holding in chief of the King, or of a subject superior.

In the rolls of Parliament [I. 15.], there is a grant of Richard I. to the Bishop of Coventry, and his successors in that see,—"ut omnes homines sui—in perpe-"tuum liberi sint et quieti—de sectis Shir' & Hundr'." Among the Placita in Parliamento 19. Edw. I. [Rolls, I. 69.], there is a case between William Martin and William de Valenciis, which proves that subtenants owed suit and presence in the same courts; and there is a question between the Crown and William de Breouse 50. Edw. I. [Rolls, I. 148.], which proves the same.

Art. V. *The Narrative of* Robert Adams, *a Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa in the Year* 1810; *was detained three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert; and Resided several months in the City of Tombuctoo. With a Map, Notes, and an Appendix.* 4to. pp. 272. London, Murray. 1816.

We have more than once had occasion to suggest, that the accounts received from persons accidentally led to visit the interior of Africa, might possibly afford that information regarding its great towns and rivers, which the enterprize of professed travellers has hitherto failed to procure; and we have hinted, that the regular journeys of the caravans for commercial purposes, might furnish an opportunity of sending some African of intelligence from the neighbourhood of the coast, to the most inland parts, and of learning through him the state of those distant and interesting regions. It still remains unexplained, why no such means of investigation have ever been attempted. There must surely be negroes of sufficient information in the colony of Sierra Leone, if no Moor should be found trustworthy for the proposed undertaking. To join one of the

regular caravans would be no very difficult matter; and, engaging in traffic, like the rest of the company, would both facilitate and conceal the object of the adventure. Two most praiseworthy voyages of discovery have, in the mean time, been fitted out by the English government, one of which is to proceed up the Congo, in the expectation that the theory explained in a former Number may prove well-grounded, and the Niger be found the upper part of that great river. Every thing that could be contributed to the success of these plans, by careful and liberal preparation, with the fullest information to be had upon the subject, has been wisely bestowed by the Administration; and the friends of science look forward with new hopes towards the solution of some of the most important problems in geography, as well as in the moral history of the species. The work now before us contains some very valuable information, obtained from the accidental source above alluded to, supposing always that its authenticity may be relied on; to which material point we must begin, by directing the reader's attention.

At the beginning of last winter, Mr Cock, a gentleman connected with the African Company, having accidentally heard that a poor American sailor, of the name of Robert Adams, was begging in the streets, who represented himself as recently returned from many strange adventures in Africa, he made it his business to find him out, and proceeded to enquire into his story, which he told with much frankness, in answer to the questions which were put. He very properly took notes of the statement made by Adams, particularly as to the places he said he had visited, the distances mentioned by him, and the directions in which he described his journeys to have been made. He then gave him a trifling sum to relieve his immediate wants, and desired him to return in a few days. The man did not come back for nearly a week, and then repeated the same answers, nearly in the same words, to the questions again put. A favourable opinion of his veracity being thus formed, Mr Cock resolved to take down in writing his whole narrative, Adams himself being wholly illiterate. For this purpose, it was necessary that he should be supported while here; and he was promised a remuneration for his trouble, in attending daily to have his adventures recorded. There was considerable difficulty, however, in getting him to remain; he was impatient to return to his own country, and wished to embark in an American transport which was then on the point of sailing. Having by promises been prevailed upon to stay, he was seen by a number of gentlemen, who repeatedly conversed with him; and, it deserves to be added, that he never was known to ask money from any

of them. During the examination, by which his story was drawn from him, and which occupied some hours daily for a fortnight or three weeks, above fifty persons saw and interrogated him; nor was there one of those who was not struck with the artlessness and good sense of his answers, and with the conviction that he was relating the facts to the best of his recollection.

After his examination was concluded, and before leaving this country, he was seen and interrogated by several persons well known in the political and scientific world. The general impression made upon them was perfectly favourable to his veracity, although two of the number, Sir Joseph Banks and Mr Barrow the traveller, had at first entertained partial doubts of his accuracy. These doubts were grounded upon the contradiction which his narrative gave to all the former reports of the extent and magnificence of Tombuctoo, and upon certain mistakes which they supposed him to have made in matters of natural history. With respect to the first ground of hesitation, we confess, that with us the discrepancy of Adams's account with the incredible stories formerly told of the size and grandeur of Tombuctoo, operates in favour of his accuracy; not only because his inventing a story about Tombuctoo presupposes his having heard of these stories, and makes it probable, that had he been fabricating a tale, he would have adapted it to them; but also because it is exactly in the course of other improvements in the knowledge of distant places, long familiar to us by name and by report, that the first authentic information should diminish the wonders related and credited during the period of ignorance and vague reports. Mr Barrow's own account of China, furnishes a remarkable example in support of this observation; nor have his numerous books of travels rendered any one more valuable service, than their enabling us to view the Chinese in their natural colour and dimensions. With regard to the supposed inaccuracy of Adams upon points of natural history, a few more particulars must be adverted to. He mentioned *dates*, *pine-apples* and *cocoa-nuts* among the fruits of Tombuctoo. Mr Dupuis, our vice-consul at Magadore (of whom we shall again have occasion to speak) states, that he never heard of the two former fruits from the natives of Barbary who had visited the interior. Mr Park, however, mentions dates repeatedly in his travels; and, though he says that the pine-apple does not grow in the interior, yet Mr Cock observes, that it flourishes upon the Gold Coast and in the Bight of Benin. The cocoa-nut tree is supposed not to grow at a distance from the sea; and Adams, it seems, could not describe its appear-

ance. But Mr Dupuis admits that the natives of Barbary who have visited Tombuctoo, mention this tree as growing there; and, as the Editor well remarks, a person in the situation of Adams was more likely to observe the fruit than the tree, or he may have confounded the shell of it with that of the calabash. Again; he described a young elephant as twenty feet high, with legs as thick as his body, and *four* tusks. That he did not observe the animal with the accuracy of a naturalist is quite clear; and the examination as to the number of his tusks having taken place after an interval of four years, it is not surprising that he should have made a mistake upon a matter which at the time could not have attracted much of his attention. Lastly, he describes a new and strange animal in the following manner. 'Besides these, there is in the vicinity of Tombuctoo a most 'extraordinary animal named *courcoo*, somewhat resembling a 'large dog, but having an opening or hollow on its back like 'a pocket, in which it carries its prey. It has short pointed ears and a short tail. Its skin is of an uniform reddish-'brown on its back, like a fox, but its belly is of a light-grey 'colour. It will ascend trees with great agility, and gather 'cocoa-nuts, which Adams supposes to be a part of its food. 'But it also devours goats and even young children, and the negroes were greatly afraid of it. Its cry is like that of an 'owl.' (p. 30.) As Mr Dupuis never heard of this extraordinary animal, these particulars may appear somewhat suspicious; but the following note of the editor seems to us fairly enough to remove the difficulty.

'It would be unfair to Adams not to explain, that, when questioned as to his *personal knowledge* of the 'courcoo,' it appeared that he had never seen the animal nearer than at thirty 'or forty yards distance. It was from the Negroes he learnt 'that it had on its back "a hollow place like a pouch, which "they called *coo*," in which it pocketed its prey; and having 'once seen the creature carrying a branch of cocoa-nut with its 'fruit, "which, as the courcoo ran swiftly away, seemed to lie "on its back," Adams concluded of course that the pocket '*must* be there; and further, that the animal fed on cocoa-nuts, 'as well as goats and children.—In many respects Adams's description of the animal, (about which the Narrative shows that 'he was closely questioned), answers to the lynx.' p. 109.

We do not, therefore, consider the mistakes as to these points, of any material importance in estimating the authenticity of Adams's narrative; or rather the very small number of them appears to confirm it; and especially we hold this opinion respecting the story he tells of the *Courcoo*; for, if it had been a mere

invention, the only object of it must have been to excite wonder; and no fabricator who deals in this article ever employs it so sparingly. A person making a story, would either have confined himself to what was most probable in itself and most consistent with other accounts, or have endeavoured far oftener than once to invent tales that might astonish.

We proceed to the other confirmations of his narrative. The account which he gave of his courses and distances, was diligently compared with the map, and found not merely to agree with all the known points of African geography, but to tally so well as to raise a suspicion of another kind; for how, it was natural to ask, should he have recollected such particulars without any notes to assist him? This inquiry was actually made, and we shall give the result in the words of the editor.

'Being questioned how he came to have so minute a recollection of the exact number of *days* occupied in his long journies from place to place, he answered, that being obliged to travel almost naked under a burning sun, he always inquired, before setting out on a journey, how long it was expected to last. In the progress of it, he kept an exact account; and when it was finished, he never failed to notice whether it had occupied a greater or lesser number of days than he had been taught to expect, or whether it had been completed exactly in the stated time.

'On asking him how he could venture to speak with confidence of the precise number of *miles* which he travelled on each day; he replied, that he could easily recollect whether the camels, on any particular journey, travelled well or ill; and knowing that when they are heavily laden and badly supplied with provisions, they will not go more than from ten to fifteen miles a day; but that, on the other hand, when they are fresh and lightly laden, they will travel from eighteen to twenty-five miles a day, he had reckoned the length of his journeys accordingly.

'When asked how he came to observe so minutely the *directions* in which he travelled; he replied, that he always noticed in a morning whether the sun rose in his face, or not: and that his thoughts being for ever turned to the consideration of how he should escape, he never omitted to remark, and as much as possible to impress on his recollection, the course he was travelling, and had travelled, and to make inquiries on the subject. Being a sailor, he observed, he had the habit of noticing the course he was steering at sea; and therefore found no difficulty in doing so, when traversing the Deserts of Africa, which looked like the sea in a calm.' *Introd. Det.* p. xviii, xix.

But the most important circumstance in confirmation of Adams's narrative remains to be mentioned. He had stated, that Mr Dupuis was the person through whom he had been ransomed, and that he had spoken to him in the course of the transaction. As it was plain that this gentleman must be able to confirm or

contradict some parts of his story, the publication was delayed until his return to England, which was expected in a short time. When he did come, accordingly, the narrative was pnt into his hands, and he gave ample testimony to its correctness as far as he was concerned, beside mentioning several other particulars which tend strongly to support it in those parts of which he could not speak from his own knowledge. The general impression made upon Mr Dupuis by his manner of relating his adventures, was perfectly favourable; and this is an important consideration, because he was the first person to whom he described them upon his return from the interior, and immediately after his arrival on the coast. Moreover, Mr Dupuis had him examined by several respectable traders who had been at Tombuctoo, and they assured him that 'they had no doubt of his having been where he described.' He took down his account in writing, and never found him to vary in any important particular from his first story. He now examined the narrative before us, and reported its general agreement with his own notes, excepting that Adams, as might be expected, entered more minutely into some of the details when they were fresh in his recollection. Mr Dupuis has added minute notes to the present account, pointing out its coincidence or discrepancy with the result of his own inquiries; and we have already noticed the only material points of difference. It must be added, that in Africa he went by another name; but he once hinted that it was not his real one, and that he had once been on board a British man of war. This circumstance, added to the great apprehension which he always showed of falling in with our cruisers, justifies a suspicion that he concealed his real name, for fear of being treated as a deserter. The appellation which he chose (possibly from having learnt something of its history while he sojourned amongst us, and from the superstitious regard to a lucky name, not uncommon in sailors), was Benjamin *Rose*. What predilection made him fix upon *Adams*, or why he retained it when he came here, we cannot tell. Mr Dupuis gives the following remarkable description of him, upon his return from the Interior.

'The appearance, features and dress of this man upon his arrival at Mogadore, so perfectly resembled those of an Arab, or rather of a Shilluh, his head being shaved, and his beard scanty and black, that I had difficulty at first in believing him to be a Christian. When I spoke to him in English, he answered me in a mixture of Arabic and broken English, and sometimes in Arabic only. At this early period I could not help remarking that his pronunciation of Arabic resembled that of a Negro, but concluded that it was occasioned by his intercourse with Negro slaves.

'Like most other Christians after a long captivity and severe treatment among the Arabs, he appeared, upon his first arrival, exceedingly stupid and insensible; and he scarcely spoke to any one: But he soon began to show great thankfulness for his ransom, and willingly assisted in arranging and cultivating a small garden, and in other employment which I gave him with a view of diverting his thoughts. About ten or twelve days afterwards, his faculties seemed pretty well restored, and his reserve had in a great measure worn off; and about this period, having been informed by a person with whom he conversed, that he had visited the Negro country, I began to inquire of him the extent of his travels in the Desert; suppressing every appearance of peculiar curiosity, or of expecting any thing extraordinary from his answers. He then related to me, with the greatest simplicity, the manner in which he had been wrecked, and afterwards carried away to the eastward, and to *Tombuctoo*; the misfortunes and sufferings of the party which he accompanied, his return across the Desert, and his ultimate arrival at Wed Noon. What he dwelt upon with most force and earnestness during this recital, were the particulars of the brutal treatment which he experienced from the Arabs at El Kabla and Wed-Noon. He did not appear to attach any importance to the fact of his having been at Tombuctoo: and the only strong feeling which he expressed respecting it, was that of dread, with which some of the Negroes had inspired him, who, he said, were sorcerers, and possessed the power of destroying their enemies by witchcraft.' p. xxiii—xxv.

We might state other confirmations of less value, which are to be met with in the course of this volume. Thus, Adams says he was sold at Wed-Noon to *Bel-Cossim-Abdallah* for seventy dollars. Now this very *Bel-Cossim* having come to Mogadore, called upon Mr Dupuis, and told the same story. He also says, that at the same place he heard a Liverpool vessel, which he called the *Agezuma*, had been wrecked four years before; and upon inquiry, it is found, that in 1810 the *Montezuma* of Liverpool was wrecked upon that coast. Mr Dupuis either ransomed, or accounted for (by other evidence than Adams's) ten of the eleven sailors who landed along with him, by the same names, except his own, which he had given them. The story of his shipwreck was confirmed by three of these, as well as of his conveyance eastward into the Interior; and although Mr Dupuis did not see him in this country, he is enabled to identify him thus.—Two of his comrades proved to Mr D.'s agent, that he was one of their crew, and confirmed this afterwards at Mogadore. Some of his adventures in the Desert had reached that place before his arrival; and he related them when he arrived. He was there delivered to the American Consul at Tangier, and by him sent to Cadiz, where he was seen by a gentleman of that place, who afterwards found him out in London, and identified him.

The Editor subjoins to his work an elaborate discussion of the internal evidence which the Narrative itself affords; and it is well worthy of the reader's attentive perusal: But we must here satisfy ourselves with having laid before him the grounds, chiefly of external evidence, upon which our own opinion rests;—and that opinion undoubtedly is, that we can perceive no adequate reason for questioning the veracity and the *general* accuracy of this man's story. We shall now, therefore, follow him briefly through his details.

The Charles, in which Adams sailed, left America in June 1810, and arrived the following month at Gibraltar, from whence she soon afterwards sailed upon a trading voyage to the Coast of Africa; and on the 11th of October struck upon a reef of rocks, and was left by the crew, who all succeeded in gaining the shore. By the captain's reckoning, they were four hundred miles to the northward of Senegal, or not far from Cape Blanco, at a place called El Gazie. They were soon made prisoners by a tribe of the Moors, whom Adams describes as in the lowest state of misery and indigence. Among them, was a Frenchman, who had been wrecked, and made a slave about a year before, having escaped with some other prisoners of war from Santa Cruz in the Canary Islands. It deserves here to be noticed, that while Adams was relating this part of his story, a Teneriffe merchant entered the room by accident; and being asked, whether he had ever heard of such an incident, he said, that he recollected some French prisoners escaping from Santa Cruz about the time in question, and that it was rumoured they had run their boat ashore, and been carried into captivity by the Moors. After the tribe which took Adams had collected as much of the wreck as they could, they appear to have divided the crew amongst them; and Adams, * with the mate and a seaman, fell to the share of a party, consisting of twenty, men, women and children, who carried their prisoners for about thirty days to the southward of east, when they arrived at a place, the name of which he does not recollect, and remained there about a month. They were joined by a Moor, with another of the crew named Stevens, a Portugueze. The mate and the other seaman were carried away to the northward, and Adams was left with Stevens in custody of the remaining eighteen Moors, who proceeded upon a *slaving* expeditition to Souden-

* The Captain had previously been killed by the Moors, for his insolent and refractory behaviour. Adams says he was slain with a sword. Mr Dupuis thinks he told him at Mogadore, that he died of bad treatment and distress.

ny. They were joined on their route by twelve more Moors, and arrived, after travelling fourteen days, in a southerly direction. Soudenny is described as a small negro village, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mungo Park's first route; and here the party skulked among the bushes which surround the town, for about a week, lying in wait for the inhabitants. It cannot be denied, that, owing probably to the proper questions not having been put, Adams leaves this part of the narrative involved in some improbability. That a party of thirty-two persons and twelve camels should remain concealed for a week, close by a small village, seems hardly to be supposed. They then seized upon a woman and her child, and two boys, whom they found near the town. But though too large a party to escape notice, they appear to have been much too weak for the service they had undertaken; and we can hardly conceive their remaining concealed four or five days after this enterprize. So, however, it was; and at the end of that time, or almost a fortnight after their arrival among the bushes, they appear to have attracted the notice of the villagers, who attacked them in a body of forty or fifty armed men, and took them prisoners, without the least resistance being attempted. They were guarded by an hundred negroes; and, in four days, were sent under an escort of sixty men to Tombuctoo. Whatever improbability there may be in this part of the statement, arising in all likelihood from the omission of some particulars, it is confirmed by Mungo Park's account of that district in his Travels, which approaches the nearest to Soudenny. He describes it as peculiarly a prey to the slave-trading incursions of the Moors.

On their way to Tombuctoo, fourteen of the Moors were put to death for attempting to escape; and the rest, on their arrival, were closely confined as prisoners. Adams, and Stevens the Portuguese, were deemed objects of so much curiosity, from their colour, that they were suffered to remain in the palace, for the especial entertainment of the king and queen, Woollo and Fatima, who are described as antient personages, with grey hair; the latter excessively fat, and dressed in blue nankin. The people treated them with respect when they walked about, bowing, or touching their heads; and when the king received his subjects at his house, their mode of salutation was to kiss his head. The palace was of mud, and in every respect mean; there were about twenty muskets in it, which never were used. The town is described as covering as much ground as Lisbon; but the houses are scattered irregularly. The river, which he terms *La Mar Zarah*, flows to the south-

west, about two hundred yards from the town, and is about three quarters of a mile broad. The largest vessels upon it are canoes ten feet long, and carrying three men. The soil is cultivated very easily, and only with a small hoe; no animals being used for this purpose. The principal food is Guinea corn, ground between two stones, boiled into a thick mess like burgoo, and eaten with goat's milk. Their majesties feed upon it like the rest of the people, and without using any spoon or other utensil; only they are indulged with a little butter. They eat the flesh of the elephant, and deem it a great delicacy. They have cows, goats, asses, camels, dromedaries; but no horses. They possess, however, an animal called *heirie*, a small and very fleet kind of camel, used for riding, and of great use in the chase. This is stated by Mr Dupuis to be the camel of the Desert, highly prized by the Arabs for its superior patience, abstinence and swiftness. The natives are described as exceedingly dirty, and very fond of ornaments; a mixture, we suspect, by no means peculiar to those Africans. The men have several concubines beside their wives; and though the latter are treated with a marked preference, the constant quarrels that prevail, and the jealous disposition of the husbands, render their domestic life a scene of little comfort. The punishment of a paramour refusing to marry a woman who proves with child by him, is slavery. Adams describes the negroes as violent in their quarrels, in which they use their fists, and chiefly their teeth—but upon the whole as good-natured; and they always treated him with kindness. They have no outward appearance of religion; no house of worship; no priests; no meetings for prayer. The dead are buried without any external ceremony, except that the relatives assemble and sit round the body. Our readers will recollect the affecting description given by Mungo Park of the negro belief, which seems in his account to be, if not very sublime, at least as free from grossness and vulgar errors, as any system of paganism we know. Their practice of medicine is confined to the old women; and their dentists, like those of other countries, use cures which 'frequently cause not only the defective tooth to fall out, but one or two others.' It is observable, that when Adams came to Mogadore, he was fully impressed with a belief, that some of the negroes possessed supernatural powers, and could injure their enemies by witchcraft. Mr Dupuis seems to wonder at his having suppressed all mention of this in his narrative. The editor very fairly accounts for the omission, by reminding us that he may have dropt it, when he found the belief in it ridiculed. The negroes of Tombuctoo are passionately fond of dancing; which fre-

quently lasts all night, and forms their favourite amusement. Their musical instruments are a rude sort of guitar, made of leather thongs, drawn across cocoa-nut shells; a fife, and a sort of tambourine, with ostrich quills in the inside, against which the skin strikes.

'It has been already stated, that Adams can form no idea of the population of Tombuctoo; but he thinks that once he saw as many as two thousand persons assembled at one place. This was on the occasion of a party of five hundred men going out to make war in Bambarra. The day after their departure they were followed by a great number of camels, dromedaries, and heiries, laden with provisions. Such of these people as afterwards returned, came back in parties of forty or fifty; many of them did not return at all whilst Adams remained at Tombuctoo; but he never heard that any of them had been killed.

'About once a month a party of a hundred or more armed men marched out in a similar manner to procure slaves. These armed parties were all on foot except the officers: they were usually absent from one week to a month, and at times brought in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Tombuctoo, and differently clothed, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw amongst them a woman who had her teeth filed round, he supposes by way of ornament; and as they were very long they resembled crow-quills. The greatest number of slaves that he recollects to have seen brought in at one time, were about twenty, and these he was informed were from the place called Bambarra, lying to the southward and westward of Tombuctoo; which he understood to be the country whither the aforesaid parties generally went out in quest of them.

'The slaves thus brought in were chiefly women and children, who, after being detained a day or two at the King's house, were sent away to other parts for sale. The returns for them consisted of blue nankeens, blankets, barley, tobacco, and sometimes gunpowder. This latter article appeared to be more valuable than gold, of which double the weight was given in barter for gunpowder. Their manner of preserving it was in skins. It was however never used at Tombuctoo, except as an article of trade.

'Although the King was despotic, and could compel his subjects to take up arms when he required it, yet it did not appear that they were slaves whom he might sell, or employ as such generally; the only actual slaves being such as were brought from other countries, or condemned criminals. Of the latter class only twelve persons were condemned to slavery during the six months of Adams's residence at Tombuctoo. The offences of which they had been guilty were poisoning, theft, and refusing to join a party sent out to procure slaves from foreign countries.

'Adams never saw any individual put to death at Tombuctoo—the punishment for heavy offences being, as has just been stated, slavery; for slighter misdemeanours the offenders are punished with

beating with a stick; but in no case is this punishment very severe, seldom exceeding two dozen blows, with a stick of the thickness of a small walking cane.' p. 38—40.

It will surprise those who have been accustomed to the magnificent accounts of Tombuctoo, to learn that Adams observed no shops there. The goods imported for sale remain in the King's palace until they are disposed of. Mr Dupuis says, that he has heard contradictory accounts of this matter; but admits that some of these agree with the story of Adams. It seems strange that there should be any doubt upon it. He states forty or fifty cowries as the price of a full grown slave, obviously from some great mistake, as Park makes the current price at Sansanding, no less than forty thousand. He asserts, pretty confidently, that no white man had ever been there before him, both from the information he received, and from the curiosity which his colour and appearance universally excited. Concerning the places which he heard mentioned by the natives, he recollected the names of *Naitnougo*, *Tuarick*, *Mandingo* and *Bondou*. He never saw the Joliba or Niger.

About six months after their arrival, there came a party of Moors, who ransomed their countrymen and Adams and Stevens. They set out in a north-easterly direction, along the river which he calls *La Mar Zarah*; and, after travelling for thirteen days, arrived at a place named Tudenug, where they remained a fortnight, and then pursued a north-westerly course across the Desert. In this dreary and pathless waste they travelled nine and twenty days without meeting a human being, or seeing tree, or shrub, or even a blade of grass. They suffered greatly from want of food and water, the season being uncommonly dry, and the usual watering-places failing:—They were reduced to mix up camels' urine with the water which they carried in goat-skins. We extract the following passage, as proving, we think, to those who are acquainted with accounts of journeys in the Desert, either that Adams must have performed such a journey, or must have studied such accounts:—and the latter supposition, considering his inability to read or write, is quite incredible.

'The Moors who had been in confinement at Tombuctoo becoming every day weaker, three of them in the four following days lay down, unable to proceed. They were then placed upon the camels: but continual exposure to the excessive heat of the sun, and the uneasy motion of the camels, soon rendered them unable to support themselves, and towards the end of the second day they made another attempt to pursue their journey on foot, but could not. The next morning at day-break they were found dead on the sand, in the place where they had lain down at night, and were left behind without being buried. The next day another of them lay down; and,

like his late unfortunate companions, was left to perish: But on the following day one of the Moors determined to remain behind, in the hope that he who had dropped the day before might still come up, and be able to follow the party:—some provisions were left with him. At this time it was expected, what proved to be the fact, that they were within a day's march of their town: but neither of the men ever afterwards made his appearance; and Adams has no doubt that they perished.' p. 52.

This painful exertion at length brought them to *Vled Duleim*, or, as Mr Dupuis calls it, *Woled D'laim*, a village of Zeuts, inhabited by a pastoral tribe of Moors. Here the slaves were employed in tending goats and sheep, suffering severely by exposure, in almost entire nakedness, to a scorching sun, and hopeless of ever regaining their liberty. In respect to food, they were not by any means so wretched. They had barley-flour and abundance of milk, and they now and then contrived to kill a kid unperceived, which they dressed in a pit, and covered the ashes over with grass and sand. Worn out with suffering, and impatient of his situation, after remaining here eleven months, he made a desperate effort, and escaped on a camel, but was overtaken, after two days' journey, at a place called Hilla Gibla, as he was relating his adventures to the Moorish governor. His master had pursued him; and the governor, after hearing both sides, determined in favour of Adams; that is to say, he decreed that he should be ransomed for a bushel of dates and a camel, which his Excellency forthwith paid to the reluctant vendor, and took possession of Adams as his own purchase. Here he was employed in keeping camels and goats, and met with an adventure, in some respects resembling those which are related of other pastoral ladies and their husbands' slaves, though certainly the similarity does not hold throughout.

'Mahomet had two wives who dwelt in separate tents, one of them an old woman, the other young: the goats which Adams was set to take care of, were of the property of the elder one. Some days after he had been so employed, the younger wife, whose name was *Isha*, proposed to him, that he should also take charge of her goats, for which she would pay him; and as there was no more trouble in tending two flocks than one, he readily consented. Having had charge of the two flocks for several days, without receiving the promised additional reward, he at length remonstrated; and after some negotiation on the subject of his claim, the matter was compromised, by the young woman's desiring him, when he returned from tending the goats at night, to go to rest in her tent. It was the custom of Mahomet to sleep two nights with the elder woman, and one with the other; and this was one of the nights devoted to the former. Adams accordingly kept the appointment; and about nine o'clock Isha came and gave him supper, and he remained in her tent all

night. This was an arrangement which was afterwards continued on those nights which she did not pass with her husband. Things continued in this state about six months, and as his work was light, and he experienced nothing but kind treatment, his time passed pleasantly enough. One night his master's son coming into the tent discovered Adams with his mother-in-law, and informed his father, when a great disturbance took place: but upon the husband charging his wife with her misconduct, she protested that Adams had laid down in her tent without her knowledge or consent; and as she cried bitterly, the old man appeared to be convinced that she was not to blame. The old lady, however, declared her belief that the young one was guilty, and expressed her conviction that she should be able to detect her at some future time. For some days after, Adams kept away from the lady; but at the end of that time, the former affair appearing to be forgotten, he resumed his visits. One night the old woman lifted up the corner of the tent and discovered Adams with Isha; and having reported it to her husband, he came with a thick stick, threatening to put him to death: Adams being alarmed, made his escape; and the affair having made a great deal of noise, an acquaintance proposed to Adams to conceal him in his tent, and to endeavour to buy him of the Governor. Some laughed at the adventure; others, and they by far the greater part, treated the matter as an offence of the most atrocious nature, Adams being 'a Christian, who never prayed.' As his acquaintance promised, in the event of becoming his purchaser, to take him to Wadinoon, Adams adopted his advice, and concealed himself in his tent. For several days the old Governor rejected every overture; but at last he agreed to part with Adams for fifty dollars worth of goods, consisting of blankets and dates; and thus he became the property of *Boerick*, a trader, whose usual residence was at Hilla Gibbila. The girl (Isha) ran away to her mother.' p. 58—61.

A friend of his new master having persuaded him to send him to Wadinoon, where the Christians were likely to ransom him, he set out towards that place; but this friend seems to have had some purpose of his own in view, for he carried him in another direction, and used him as his slave. After continuing for some weeks in this state, and finding he was not at a very great distance from Wadinoon, he resolved to make his escape, which he effected; but was pursued and carried back. However, in a few days his new master proceeded to the same place, where they arrived in safety, and found his old comrades, the mate and two other seamen of the Charles. They had been above a year in the town, and were the property of the governor's sons. Adams was now sold to Bel-Cossim for seventy dollars, as we have formerly noticed. Among the Negro slaves at Wadinoon, he saw a woman who told him a very remarkable story. She said that 'she came from a place called *Kanno*, a long way a-'cross the Desert; and that she had seen in her own country,

'white men, as white as "bather," meaning the wall, and in 'a large boat with two high sticks in it, with cloth upon them; 'and that they rowed this boat in a manner different from the 'custom of the Negroes, who use paddles. In stating this, she 'made the motion of rowing with oars, so as to leave no doubt 'that she had seen a vessel in the European fashion, manned 'by white people.' (p. 69.) Now, upon this singular circumstance, the editor makes the following judicious remarks, grounded upon the same distrust of Amadi Fatouma's story, given in Mungo Park's Last Journey, which we expressed in our account of that publication.

'It has already been stated, that many of the slaves purchased at Tombuctoo, and brought by the Arabs across the Desert, come from countries even as far east of that city as Wangara; it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that *Kanno*, mentioned in the text, may be the kingdom of *Ghana*, or *Cano*, which D'Anville places on the Niger, between the tenth and fifteenth degrees of eastern longitude. Assuming this to be the fact, the curious relation of the Negro slave at Wed-Noon might afford ground to conjecture that Park had made further progress down the Niger than Amadi Fatouma's story seems to carry him,—further, we mean, than the frontier of Haoussa.

'In fact, the time which intervened between Park's departure from Sansanding, and his asserted death, would abundantly admit of his having reached a much more distant country even than *Ghana*: for according to Isaaco and Amadi Fatouma (see Park's Second Mission, 4to. p. 218), he had been *four months* on his voyage down the Niger before he lost his life; having never been on shore during all that time. This long period is evidently quite unnecessasy for the completion of an uninterrupted voyage from Sansanding to the frontiers of Haoussa: for Park was informed by Amadi Fatouma himself, that the voyage even to *Kashna* (probably more than twice the distance, according to Major Rennell's positions of these places), did not require a longer period than *two months* for its performance.' p. 141, 142.

The worst treatment experienced by Adams during his whole adventures, appears to have been at Wadinoon. He was maltreated in every way; and having refused, from some religious scruples, to kiss his master's feet upon one occasion, he was kept in irons for two months, until, being reduced to a skeleton, and expected to die, he was released to save his life. The poor mate, too, fell sick; and, being unable to work when ordered, was threatened with death, which, he said, he should prefer to dying by inches; whereupon his master, the governor's son, killed him on the spot; and his two other comrades, perpetually tormented to change their religion, at length consented, were circumcised, and set free. This rendered the lot of Adams still more insupportable, as he was the only Christian slave who re-

mained, and was the subject of constant taunts and injuries. He had endured these for three days, when M. Dupuis sent an exhortation to the slaves at Wadinoon to remain firm in their religious faith, and a promise to procure their release within a month. The effect of this letter is related in rather a striking manner. One of the renegadoes 'heard it read apparently without emotion; but the other became so agitated, that he let it drop out of his hands, and burst into a flood of tears.' The Vice-consul was as good as his word, and, at the expiration of a month, sent his agent to inform Adams that he was ransomed, and to bring him to Mogadore. He therefore left Wadinoon, after remaining there, he thinks, above twelve months; and journeyed to Mogadore, where they arrived in about a fortnight. Several details are given of this course, but they have no particular interest. On ascending a hill which gave them a view of Mogadore, and the square-rigged vessels lying in the harbour, Adams observes, 'that he can no otherwise describe the effects this sight had upon him, than by saying, he felt as if a new life had been given to him.' He was taken to Fez, where he was presented to the Emperor, and thence sent to Tangier; the American consul took charge of him, and procured him a passage to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 17th of May 1814, being three years and seven months from the time of his shipwreck; during which long period, by a rare fortune, he never had been sick a single day, except from the effect of the maltreatment he received at Wadinoon. At Cadiz he continued fourteen months as a servant or groom in the employ of Mr Hall an English merchant; and peace being restored with America, his Consul gave him an opportunity of returning home in a transport of American seamen; but he arrived at Gibraltar two days after the vessel had sailed. He therefore worked his passage to England, and, arriving at Holyhead, begged his way to London, where he was in the utmost misery, having slept some nights in the street. He was accidentally met by a gentleman who had seen him in Mr Hall's service, and who brought him to the Office of the African Committee.

To the narrative which we have now analyzed, are subjoined, beside the notes and illustrations, the substance of which we have noticed as we proceeded, an excellent dissertation upon the internal evidence of Adams's story, already mentioned, and a valuable Appendix in two parts; one containing Information or Remarks touching the interior of Africa; the other consisting of a Sketch of the Population of West Barbary, taken from the information of Mr Dupuis.

In the first part of this Appendix, we find a curious account of Tombuctoo and the trade of the Niger, procured in 1764 for

a governor of Senegal by an Arabic interpreter attached to a journey to Galam. It is as follows, translated from the original French.

'After many difficulties, I have at length found a man lately returned from *Tombuctoo*, from whom I have obtained better information of the country than from any other person. I have spoken to several merchants, who have reported some things to me, but I confide most in this last, who is lately returned, who has assured me, that the vessels which navigate in the river of Tombuctoo do not come from the sea; that they are vessels constructed at Tombuctoo, which are sewed either with cordage or with the bark of the cocoa tree, he does not exactly know which; that these vessels only go by tracking and by oars (or paddles).

'He says, that the inhabitants of the city of Tombuctoo are Arabs; that it is a large city, and that the houses have three or four stories. He says, that the caravans which come to Tombuctoo, come from the side of Medina, and bring stuffs, white linens, and all sorts of merchandise. That these caravans are composed only of camels, that they stop at the distance of half a league from Tombuctoo, and that the people of Tombuctoo go there to buy the goods, and take them into the city; afterwards, that they equip their vessels to send them to *Genné*, which is another city under the dominion of Tombuctoo, and that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo have correspondents there. The people of Genné in their turn equip their vessels, and put into them the merchandise which they have received from the people of Tombuctoo, with which they ascend the river. It is to be remarked, that the separation of the two rivers is at half a league from Genné; and Genné is situated between the two rivers like an island. One of these rivers runs into *Bambarra*, and the other goes to *Betoo*, which is a country inhabited by a people of a reddish colour, who are always at war with the Bambarras. When they go out to war against the Bambarras, they are always five months absent. After the barks of Genné have gone a great distance up the river, they arrive at the fall of *Sootasoo*, where they stop and can proceed no further. There they unload their salt and other merchandise, and carry them upon the backs of asses, and upon their heads to the other side of the fall, where they find the large boats of the Negroes, which they freight; and ascend the river to the country of the *Mandingoes*, who are called *Malins*, and who are near to the rock *Gouvina*.' p. 195, 196, *note*.

The gentleman who obtained this information, says, that during his residence at Senegal, of three or four years, he was at great pains to verify it by various inquiries; and that from the result of these, as well as from his confidence in the character and talents of the person who procured it for him, he had an entire reliance upon its accuracy. It is confirmed,

moreover, in some material points, by Mungo Park; nevertheless, it appears to be, in one particular, tinged with that love of the marvellous, which prevails in almost all accounts of Tombuctoo previous to the narrative of Adams. The houses are described as having three or four stories, contrary to the express and distinct statement of Adams. The account of the boats, and navigation generally, agrees completely with his, and is at variance with all the other tales, so easily invented, and so greedily swallowed, of square-rigged vessels driving a prodigious inland commerce.

The second part of the Appendix is well deserving of attention. It gives an account of the three races, *Berrebbers*, *Arabs*, and *Moors*, who inhabit Western Barbary. The first are the descendants of the original inhabitants before the Arabian conquest; their language varies in its dialects, but all of them are entirely different from the Arabic; and Mr Dupuis offers no conjectures whether or not they may be corruptions of the ancient Punic and Numidian. The *Shilluh*, or Berrebbers of the South, differ from the other tribes in appearance, and are distinguished by more warmth of attachment, as well as vehemence of passion. Nor are they ever known to violate the security of any person or property furnished with their protection. He relates a remarkable anecdote of this tribe.

'A Shilluh having murdered one of his countrymen in a quarrel, fled to the Arabs from the vengeance of the relations of his antagonist: but not thinking himself secure even there, he joined a party of pilgrims, and went to Mecca. From this expiatory journey he returned at the end of eight or nine years to Barbary; and, proceeding to his native district, he there sought (under the sanctified name of *El Haje*, the *Pilgrim*, a title of reverence amongst the Mohammedans) to effect a reconciliation with the friends of the deceased. They, however, upon hearing of his return, attempted to seize him; but, owing to the fleetness of his horse, he escaped and fled to Mogadore, having been severely wounded by a musket ball in his flight. His pursuers followed him thither: but the Governor of Mogadore hearing the circumstances of the case, strongly interested himself in behalf of the fugitive, and endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a reconciliation The man was imprisoned; and his persecutors then hastened to Morocco to seek justice of the Emperor. That prince, it is said, endeavoured to save the prisoner; and to add weight to his recommendation, offered a pecuniary compensation in lieu of the offender's life; which the parties, although persons of mean condition, rejected. They returned triumphant to Mogadore, with the Emperor's order for the delivery of the prisoner into their hands: and having taken him out of prison, they immediately conveyed him without the walls of the town, where one of the party, loading his musket before the face of their victim, placed the muzzle to his breast

and shot him through the body; but as the man did not immediately fall, he drew his dagger, and by repeated stabbing put an end to his existence. The calm intrepidity with which this unfortunate Shilluh stood to meet his fate, could not be witnessed without the highest admiration; and, however much we must detest the blood-thirstiness of his executioners, we must still acknowledge that there is something closely allied to nobleness of sentiment in the inflexible perseverance with which they pursued the murderer of their friend to punishment, without being diverted from their purpose by the strong inducements of self-interest.' p. 214, 215.

Excepting that Berrebbers of the North are more robust than the Shilluh, 'a strong family likeness runs through all their 'tribes. Their customs, dispositions, and national character 'are nearly the same; they are all equally tenacious of the in-'dependence which their local positions enable them to assume; 'and all are animated with the same inveterate and hereditary 'hatred against their common enemy the Arab. They invari-'ably reside in houses, or hovels, built of stone and timber, 'which are generally situated on some commanding eminence, 'and are fortified and loop-holed for self-defence. Their usual 'mode of warfare is to surprise their enemy, rather than over-'come him by an open attack; they are reckoned the best 'marksmen, and possess the best fire-arms in Barbary, which 'renders them a very destructive enemy wherever the country 'affords shelter and concealment; but although they are al-'ways an overmatch for the Arabs when attacked in their own 'rugged territory, they are obliged, on the other hand, to re-'linquish the plains to the Arab cavalry, against which the Ber-'rebbers are unable to stand on open ground (p. 216.)

The *Arabs*, the descendants of the Mahometan conquerors, are cultivators of the soil, according to their proverb, that '*the earth is the Arab's portion.*' Their character differs from that of the Berrebber, in being more open and violent, for we presume this is the meaning of '*a more generous cast.*' (p. 218.) When they have the power, they prey upon all strangers to their tribe and religion, 'carrying devastation and destruction wherever they go, sparing neither age nor sex, and even ripping open the dead bodies of their victims, to discover whether they have not swallowed their riches for the purposes of concealment.'

The *Moors* are a mixed race, if we rightly understand the author, inhabiting the towns, and descended from the Berrebbers, the Arabs, the Negroes, and the Arabs expelled from Spain. As the two former tribes are cultivators of the soil, and feeders of cattle, the latter are chiefly occupied with the pursuits of trade.

Upon the whole, we regard this volume as a very important accession to our knowledge of the African Continent. If there are no details of extraordinary interest respecting the interior, it is because the stories formerly told of Tombuctoo, were mere visions of the imagination; and the narrative of Adams has dispelled such illusions. This is the principal value of the book; and it is a great one. We draw another inference from it, and from the interesting notices of Mr Dupuis—that there seems more prospect than ever of the expeditions now sent out, prosecuting successfully their discoveries in the interior, and that much may be done by sending intelligent natives, either Moors or Negroes, by the usual caravans. The mild treatment experienced by Adams among the Negro tribes, shows how safe and easy the examination of the central region might prove, as soon as the deserts which surround and cut them off from the coast are passed; and the intelligent observations collected from natives of different classes, and even from a very illiterate and ordinary seaman, show, that in order to convey some useful and interesting details, there is no necessity for a scientific traveller.

While our hopes of information are thus raised, it must be admitted, that, in the same proportion, all the sanguine prospects of new channels for our commerce are overcast. They who expected to have a Mexico or Peru opened to their speculations in the heart of Africa, must now turn away from that Continent with some disappointment In truth, their mistakes are not confined to the old hemisphere; the trade of South America falls almost as much below their golden dreams as that of Tombuctoo; and, instead of an avenue to mines of gold, it only opens to them the slow though sure benefits which must be derived from the progress of the South Americans in the arts that furnish means of carrying on a foreign trade of large extent, as soon as the European monopoly shall set their industry free. A still more slow progress of the same kind may render the Africans valuable customers to Europe, after Europe shall have ceased to drive a detestable traffic in their flesh and blood.

ART. VI. *The Life of James the II., &c. collected out of Memoirs, Writ of his own Hand, &c. Published from the Stuart MSS., at Carleton House.* By the Reverend JAMES STANIER CLARKE, &c. London. 2 vol. 4to. Longman & Co.

As this publication is of considerable importance to those who critically study the History of England, we shall endea-

vour to give our readers a full and plain account of the materials which compose it. It has long been known, that James II. left behind him some narrative of the events in which he was concerned. The first mention of it, with which we are acquainted, is by Burnet, who, in his account of James's first marriage, tells us,—' He' (the Duke of York) ' had a great desire to understand affairs; and, in order to that, *he kept a constant Journal of all that passed, of which he showed me a great deal.*'—' The Dutchess of York was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess,—and took state on her rather too much. She writ well, and *had begun the Duke's Life, of which she showed me a volume. It was all drawn from his Journal.* And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on.' The Dutchess of York died in 1671.

The next public notice of James II's Memoirs, is in a history of Marshal Turenne, published at Paris in 1735, and written by Andrew Ramsay a Jacobite gentleman, and a writer of some note in his own time, who, having been created a Scotch Baronet by the Pretender, and having obtained the French order of St Michel by the interposition of the same Prince, is commonly known by the name of the Chevalier Ramsay. In the second volume of that work is an extract from James's Memoirs, extending to a hundred and fifty pages, containing an account of his campaigns in the French army under Turenne, and in the Spanish army in the Netherlands under Condé, from 1652 to the peace of the Pyrenees. Prefixed to this part of the work is an introductory note by the Cardinal de Bouillon at Rome, on the 16th of February 1715, from which we learn, that he received it from King James at St Germains, on the 1st of January 1696, as a mark of that Monarch's gratitude and reverence for Turenne, on condition that it should be shown to no other person during the life of the King. At the end is a certificate, dated on the 24th December 1734, by the Superiors of the Scotch College at Paris, viz. Louis Inesse, late Principal; C. Whiteford, Principal; Thomas Inesse, Sub-Principal; Alexander Smith, Prefect of Studies;—testifying, that ' the above Memoirs of James II. are conformable to the original English Memoirs, *written by his Majesty's own hand, and preserved in virtue of a warrant subscribed by him in the Archives of our said College.*' They also state, that the ' above ' MSS., given by the King to the Cardinal, written and translated by Mr Dempster, one of the King's Secretaries, but revised and corrected by the King, agrees in every respect but style, and the order of the narrative, with another translation made by order of the Queen Dowager, signed by her, countersigned by *Lord* Caryll

and delivered by Louis Inesse, on the 15th January 1705, to the Cardinal de Bouillon, who, it appears, had mislaid the original translation presented to him by the King, which he did not recover till he was at Rome in 1715.

Thus far, then, the history of James's original MSS. is perfectly satisfactory. The earlier part of them were seen by Burnet before 1671. A considerable extract from that part was attested by James himself in 1696. On the 24th of March 1701, the King, by his warrant, directed the custody of the 'original Memoirs, *writt in our own hand*,' to be committed 'to Louis Inesse, Principal of the Scotch College, and to his successors in the Government of the said College.' In 1705 we find them in the College. On the 12th of January 1707, we find a warrant for the removal of that part of 'his Majesty's Memoirs and other papers, written in his own hand,' which relates to 1678 and the subsequent period, to St Germains, for some months. We have also seen a promise of the son of James II., written on the 9th November 1707, to settle, within six months after his restoration, an estate producing a hundred pounds Sterling by the year in France, on the Scotch college at Paris, 'where the original Memoirs and MSS. of our Royal Father are deposited, by his especiall warrant.' In 1734 these papers continued in the same custody. All this is clear and indisputable.

Hitherto the external evidence is confined to the King's original Memoirs: but we have lately seen an authentic document, which ascertains, that at least in the year 1740 there existed another MS. more immediately connected with the present publication. It is a despatch, dated at Rome on the 10th January 1740, from James Edgar, then the Pretender's Secretary, to Thomas Carte, who devoted himself to toil and danger during his whole life for the House of Stuart, and compiled his History of England to promote their restoration. It is of the following tenor. 'The King is pleased, by this post, to send directions to Messrs Innes, to give you the perusal at the Scots College at Paris, of the Complete Life of the late King his father; *writ by Mr Dicconson in consequence of royal orders, all taken out of and supported by the late King's MSS.*' There can be little doubt that the Life here spoken of is the very Narrative now before us; and until evidence be offered to the contrary, it is reasonable to conclude that Carte saw only the compilation, and was not allowed to peruse the King's original Memoirs. There are, indeed, a few particulars of no moment in Carte's extracts, published by Macpherson, to which we have not found any parallel passages in the present publication. (See i. Mac. 51—68—112.) More diligent search however might perhaps show, that

these, like all the rest, are extracted from it. If the result should be different, it may seem reasonable to infer, that Carte had access to other papers besides the Life, and that these passages are taken from the original Memoirs. If the passages had been numerous and important, more especially if they had related to events of a secret nature, such a conclusion would have appeared perfectly satisfactory. But Carte, who passed his life with Jacobites, might easily have gleaned a few unimportant particulars from their conversation, and inserted them in the order of time, as connected with his extracts from the Life of James. They might have been even communicated to him by the Superiors of the Scotch College, with an assurance that they were contained in the original Memoirs, which were not to be shown to him. From the general tenor of Carte's and Macpherson's extracts, it is apparent that they are copied or abridged from the Life before us. The probability that there are exceptions in Carte's extracts, seems extremely faint. We have not yet discovered a single proof that any of those of Macpherson are from another source. This order to Carte is mentioned by Macpherson in the preface to his State Papers, with his characteristic inaccuracy and confidence. 'Having obtained an order from Rome to inspect such papers in the Scotch Colleges as LAY OPEN, he made large and accurate extracts from the *Life of James II. written in that prince's own hand.*' The words 'lay open,' which Macpherson prints in capital letters, are an addition of his own. The reader has already seen, that the order was to see the Life of James, not written by himself, but compiled from his own Memoirs by another writer; and that the title 'Memoirs' is always used to distinguish the King's own Narrative from the compilation called his Life. We shall presently see that there is too much reason to ascribe these mistatements to a purpose.

In the early editions of Mr Hume's History, he 'was obliged to acknowledge (though there remains no direct evidence of it) that a formal plan was laid in 1670 for changing the religion, and subverting the constitution of England; and that Charles II.' his brother, and 'the ministry, were in reality conspirators against the people.' When Mr Hume went afterwards to Paris as secretary to Lord Hertford's embassy, his station and his character procured him access to the papers in the Scotch College, which were perhaps no longer so jealously kept secret, after the last shadow of regal pretension in the House of Stuart had vanished, at the death of the son of James II. In the edition of 1770, he has accordingly added a note, in which we are informed that 'since the publication of this His-

tory, the author has had occasion to see the most direct and positive evidence of this conspiracy. From the humanity and candour of the Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, he was admitted to peruse James the Second's *Memoirs* kept there. They *amount to several volumes of small folio, all writ with that prince's own hand,'* &c. &c. From this description, marked by the careful minuteness of a man of judgment and integrity, it is obvious, that the MSS. which Mr Hume perused were the 'Memoirs,' and not the 'Life.' It coincides with the more minute account of James's papers which is found in Lord Holland's Introduction to Mr Fox's History.

The next person who is known to have seen these papers. and the first who published any considerable part of them, was Macpherson. Though, as a publisher of such large extracts, he was bound to have given a far more minute and distinct description of them than that which had been given by Mr Hume, his account is in fact unfortunately distinguished by that unsatisfactory vagueness—that indisposition to state the sources of his information fully and candidly—that tone of disregard for the public, and defiance of the most reasonable demands of criticism, which have thrown so deep a shade over his literary probity. In this important instance, as in others, he seems to have chosen to affect a disdain of suspicions, rather than to silence them—and to resent accusations which it would have been wiser to confute. In particular, he suppresses the material distinction between the two MSS. in the Scotch College;—the Memoirs written by the hand of James the Second, and the Life collected from them and other sources, after the death of that Prince, by an anonymous compiler. He uses the words 'Life of James the Second' and 'King James's Memoirs,' indifferently—as if they were phrases denoting the same manuscript. He gives his readers to understand that his extracts were from the King's Memoirs, which there is reason to believe that he never saw. He entirely keeps out of view the great difference between the facts which rest on the testimony of the King, and those which are supported only by the authority (if that word may be used) of an anonymous Jacobite writer, in a work composed long after most of the events to which it relates. Yet many of his extracts, if not all, are certainly made from the compilation which professes to be 'collected out of Memoirs writt of his own hand.' The practical importance of the distinction thus suppressed, will speedily appear in more than one remarkable instance. At present, it is sufficient to have remarked the suppression as an example of disingenuosness which it is not easy to parallel, in a work pretending to an historical character.

Nothing farther was known to the public concerning these papers, till the journey of Mr Fox to Paris in 1802. By his inquiries, three material points were ascertained;—that the Memoirs of James, placed in the Scotch College after his death, and which were there at the time of the French Revolution, consisted of *ten volumes*, a number corresponding to the marginal references in the narrative before us; *—that Macpherson never saw the original Memoirs, from which he wished his readers to believe that all his extracts were made;—and that all the Journals of James the Second, together with all the Stuart Papers in the Scotch College, except a copy of the narrative of the Life, had been committed to the flames at the country-house of M. Charpentier, near St Omers, where they had been sent from Paris, for the purpose of safe transmission to England. This gentleman, dreading the consequences which, in the horrible tyranny of 1793, might have been brought upon him by the custody of the MSS. of a King, richly bound and decorated by the Royal arms, thought their destruction necessary to his safety. Earl Gower, then the British Embassador at Paris, had offered to Principal Gordon to take charge of King James's papers, and to deposit them in some place of safety in Britain. Bishop Cameron, who communicated this information to Lord Holland, did not know what answer was returned; 'but nothing was done.' The truth is, that Principal Gordon said that the papers could not be sent, unless Lord Gower would also undertake to convey to England the plate, &c. of the College. A condition, which, in the state of France at that time, must have endangered the secure return of the embassy, was naturally declined. Notwithstanding some obscure surmises to the contrary, it seems but too probable, that these curious materials of English history are now to be considered as for ever lost. The descendants of Jacobite emigrants in France still possess some papers of more or less curiosity and importance. A duplicate of the *Life* of James escaped the destruction of the Royal Journals at St Omers, and found its way into the hands of Dr Cameron, a respectable Catholic Prelate, who resides in Edinburgh. Before quitting this part of the subject, it is proper to call the attention of the public more distinctly to the circumstance, that Mr Fox 'ascertained, beyond all doubt, from the testimony of the principal persons of the Scotch College, that Macpherson never saw the original Journals;' and to add, that

* The narrative mentions distinctly nine volumes of Memoirs in the text, and, besides Letters, refers to another MS. by James, entitled 'Loose Sheets,' making up the number of ten.

the testimony of these respectable persons, which requires no corroboration, is supported by a comparison of Macpherson's extracts with the present narrative.

When the destruction of the most important papers of the Stuart family remaining in France was thus ascertained, curiosity was naturally directed towards Italy, which, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, had been the asylum of the last Princes of that House. At the death of Charles, the last person known in our laws by the designation of Pretender, he bequeathed his papers, neither to his widow the Countess of Albany, nor to his brother the Cardinal, but to his daughter by a Scotch Lady, with whom he had contracted an unavowed and irregular marriage. This daughter, on whom he had conferred the title of Dutchess of Albany, at her death bequeathed the papers to the Abbaté Waters, Procurator-General of the English Benedictines in Italy. Sir John Cox Hippisley having seen these papers during his residence in that country, suggested the propriety of their being purchased by the Prince of Wales, who, having consulted Mr Fox on the subject, authorized that gentleman to direct Sir John Hippisley to purchase the MSS. from Waters. That direction was conveyed in Mr Fox's letter to Sir John, of the 5th October 1804. The papers were, in consequence, purchased from Waters, for an annuity of 100*l.*, of which he lived to receive only the first half yearly payment. They were immediately removed to Civita Vecchia, where they were deposited in the hands of a British merchant. But such was the rigour of the Continental system, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the British officers serving in the Mediterranean, it was found impossible, during the succeeding six years, to convey these Manuscripts to England. It was not accomplished at last without much toil, and some risk. Mr Bonelli, a picture-dealer, was despatched into Italy in 1810. He found means, by the assistance of the Abbaté Macpherson, to convey them to Leghorn; from thence by a Tunisian vessel to Tunis; and from Tunis, by Malta, to London, where they finally arrived about the beginning of 1813.

All the confidential papers of the Stuart family, from 1688 to 1712, appear to have been left at Paris, with King James's Memoirs, a copy of the life compiled from them, and of the advice of that Prince to his son. A considerable number of confidential papers, from 1712 to 1719, were also kept in France by Nairne, who was the Queen Dowager's Secretary till her death.

No copy of the King's Memoirs appears to have been sent to Italy. But a duplicate of the Life, and a copy of the advice of

James to his son, with some formal papers and ceremonial letters between 1688 and 1712, and the greater part of the confidential correspondence after 1712, and the whole after 1719, were in the possession of Prince Charles Stuart, and, in the manner already described, came into the library of the Prince Regent. The duplicate of the life, and the copy of the advice, are the materials of the present publication.

When the life was compiled, and *who* was the compiler, are questions which naturally present themselves to every reader. The second it is not possible to answer with much precision. The solution of the first is not very difficult, with respect at least to all the part of it which is subsequent to 1678. The following passage in the narrative of the year 1660, is important in this view.

'We must not forget to mention, in this year, so extraordinary a passage in the Duke's life, as was *his first marriage* with the Lord Chancellor's daughter. Extraordinary, indeed, both in itself, and in *the consequences, both good and bad, which, in process of time, followed from it.*' 1st Life James II. p. 387.

The first sentence was evidently written after the second marriage of James; and the second sentence seems to allude to the conduct of his daughters Mary and Anne at the Revolution. At least it is not very obvious to what other distant bad consequences of the second marriage the writer can allude. It is evident, that the extracts given to the Cardinal de Bouillon in 1696 and 1705 were from the King's own Memoirs,—from which it seems probable that the life was not compiled at either of these periods. More precise information is afforded by a passage of the present work, in which the writer vents his indignation against the story of the supposititious birth of the son of James. 'Never child had a greater resemblance of his parents, both in body and mind, than *his present Majesty* has of the *late* King his Father, and of the Queen his Mother.' 2d Life James II. p. 195.

It is perfectly certain that the above sentence was written after the death of King James, and before the death of his Queen.* This brings the composition within the first seventeen years of the 18th century Some other circumstances narrow it still farther. By the quotation from the third volume of Lord Clarendon's History, in vol. II. p. 610, it appears, that it was not at least concluded till before the publication of that vo-

* Not, as the worthy Editor supposes, 'after the death of James II, and *that of his Queen,*' which would have left us without any means of conjecturing how modern the Life might be.

lume, which was not until 1704. The total absence of all allusion to the House of Hanover, is a decisive proof that it was composed before their accession to the Throne. A Jacobite writer at St Germains, after the accession of George I., could not have resisted the temptation of indulging himself in those angry allusions and acrimonious invectives against the Brunswick family, which were then universally prevalent among his party. The same feelings which prompt him to inveigh against William III. and the Princesses Mary and Anne, for the deposition of James II, would not have been inactive at the preference of so distant a branch of the Royal Family over the legitimate pretensions of James III. From the tone of acrimony in which Queen Anne is treated, we may almost certainly conclude, that the work was finished before the change of administration and of principles in 1710, after which a Jacobite would undoubtedly have spoken of her with more lenity. All these considerations combine to render it highly probable, that this narrative was written between 1704 and 1710; and as we find that the King's Memoirs were removed by warrant from his son to St Germains in January 1707, *for some months*, where in fact they appear to have remained till November in that year, it does not seem an improbable conjecture that the compilation was then completed.

There are much fewer means of conjecturing the name of the writer. The tradition of the Scotch College which ascribes it to Mr Thomas Innes, deserves great respect. That gentleman was Sub-principal of the College in 1734. The chain of tradition from that period to 1802 is not composed of many links. Mr Thomas Innes, the author of 'a Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland,' was the first who introduced reason and sound criticism into Scottish antiquities, in which he has unfortunately had very few followers. He laments, in his Preface to 'the Essay,' that by a long residence in a foreign country, he had lost the purity and facility of his native language.' It is singular that so little should be known of a person, who certainly possessed considerable talents, and whose work made an epoch in one branch of the historical literature of Scotland. His claim to be the compiler of this narrative is liable to no serious objection, but that which arises from Edgar's letter to Carte, in which it is said to be 'writ by Mr Dicconson;'—a gentleman, we believe, of a Catholic family in Lancashire, who followed James II. into exile; was appointed Sub-governor to his son in October 1701; afterwards became Sub-treasurer to the Queen-dowager, and is said to have died at St Germains between 1730 and 1740. Edgar might mean

only, that the Life was *copied* by Mr Dicconson; though the more natural import of his letter is, that it was composed by that gentleman, whose station did not make it likely that he should be a copyist. As the custody of the papers was committed to Lewis Innes, merely in his official character as Principal of the Scotch College, it was no mark of personal confidence, and no presumption that he was the writer. There is one Scotticism which might have been a proof of the country of the writer, if it had not been found in the part which is copied from the original memoirs of James himself. 'My Lord Dartmouth had been to the westward to look out for the enemies fleet in Torbay; he *got the length of that Bay.*' 2d Life James II. p. 230, from King Jam. Mem. tom. 9. p. 242. There are many other deviations from English use, as 'accustomated,' 'espace,' 'rassured,' &c.—but they are faults into which, from disuse of the language, and the habit of speaking another might have betrayed an Englishman, nearly, if not quite as soon as a Scotchman. It is indeed probable, that offences of this sort would have been more abundant, if the narrative, according to the tradition of the College, had not been revised by Charles Dryden, the son of the Poet.

The result of these few remarks is, that we know not the compiler of the narrative; that it probably was either Dicconson or Innes, and that the balance inclines to the side of Innes. The present editor indeed speaks frequently and familiarly of a person whom he designates as 'the King's Private Secretary,' and to whom he chooses to ascribe the compilation. But the reader must not infer from this language, that either the editor or any other person knows any thing of the matter, and is in the least entitled to assert, or even to guess, that the writer was a Secretary, or a person who wrote under the King's directions, or that the principal part of the narrative was written during the King's life. We have already seen that the contrary is certain of a considerable part, and probable concerning the far larger portion.

Different parts of the narrative are so variously composed, that the dissimilarity may lead to a suspicion of the whole not being the work of the same hand. Generally speaking, it consists of three unequal parts, without a careful discrimination of which it is impossible to form an estimate of its value. The *first* consists of extracts from the Memoirs of King James, referring to the volume and page from which they are extracted, and marked as literal quotations by inverted commas. In the *second*, the narration of the text is supported by reference to the volume and page of the King's Memoirs as the authority, though without

any extracts from these Memoirs, which are apparently abridged in the language of the compiler. The *third* is supported by no references to authorities, and must therefore rest on the personal credit of the anonymous writer, unless as far as it may be supported either by intrinsic probability, or by coincidence with other creditable testimony. The proportion of these ingredients is very different, in different parts of the work. The occurrences from the birth of the King, to the Restoration of his brother, occupied the three first volumes of his original Memoirs; the first of two hundred and sixty-one pages, the second of a hundred and sixty, and the third of a hundred and fifty-two. Almost the whole of these three volumes of Memoirs appear to have been transferred into the narrative of which they form the first Vol. in MSS., closing at Vol. I, p. 382 of this publication. His campaigns with the French and Spanish armies, amounting to more than a third of the whole, are avowedly related in his own words; and in the other parts of the narrative, the references to the Memoirs are so numerous and minute, that it is reasonable to consider the Memoirs as an authority for the whole relation. No other authority, at any rate, is quoted or referred to. The margin of few pages is without two references; that of some has four, five, or even seven. Perhaps this first volume may have been the abridgement of the King's Memoirs, composed by the Dutchess of York, and examined by Burnet. There are some circumstances which appear to countenance such a supposition. It can hardly be imagined that the King would destroy or neglect a narrative written by his wife. It is probable therefore, that it was one of the MSS. sent by him from London through the Tuscan Envoy at the time of the Revolution. It is certain that all these MSS. reached him at St Germains. From the note to Lord Holland's Introduction, it appears not to have been one of the MSS. lodged in the Scotch College at Paris, in virtue of James's warrant. Unless, therefore, it be the first volume of this MSS. there is no account of its fate. It is in other respects distinguishable from the sequel. It has few, if any allusions to succeeding events, and nothing of that anger and asperity which naturally pervaded the composition of a Jacobite emigrant in the reign of Queen Anne. It seems evidently not to be the production of the same person who compiled the greater part of the narrative. If it was written by the daughter of Lord Clarendon, it is no great praise to her to say, that she inherited somewhat more of her father's historical talent than fell to the share of her brother the second Earl. Her part (if she had any) must have closed at the Restoration; for immediately after is an account of her marriage, which she could

not have approved, and which must have been written after her death, and probably after the Revolution. From this period the narrative hitherto employed on personal adventures becomes political and acrimonious. From the Restoration to the Popish Plot, it is comprised in the disproportionate space of a hundred and fifty pages. It is distinguished from the preceding and succeeding parts, by the important peculiarity of containing no extracts from the King's Memoirs, and no marginal references to them or any other authority.

With the narrative of the Popish plot, recommence the quotations from the King's Memoirs, which more or less continue to the end of the work. It is observable, that the warrant for the removal of papers to St Germains, comprehends only papers of 1678 and the subsequent years. Finding an entirely new system of narration begin at this period, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a new writer was employed on the succeeding, which is both the larger and the more important part. The references to the King's Memoirs in 1678, agree to the 7th and 8th volumes. To the 4th, 5th, or 6th, there are no references. From these three volumes, the writer of that part of the Life, which extends from 1660 to 1678, probably formed his narrative; but, as he did not condescend, like his predecessor and successor, to quote his authorities, the value of his relation is materially lowered, as indeed it seems more cursory and shallow than the rest of the work. It contains marks, too many to be enumerated, of having been written a considerable time after the events. They are minute, but, taken together, will appear decisive to a careful reader; and they point to a time subsequent to the Revolution. The account of the naval actions in the first and second Dutch wars; of James's change of religion; of the conversion and death of the Dutchess of York, and of his second marriage; and the scandalous anecdotes of Monmouth's birth, are likely to have been taken from the King's Memoirs.

That the relation of the secret treaty with France should have fallen to the lot of a compiler so careless as to afford us no means of ascertaining whether he borrowed his narrative of that most important transaction from the King's Memoirs, in whole or in part, would have been an irreparable misfortune, if the testimony of Mr Hume, who certainly perused the original Memoirs, had not coincided with the account in this work. The extract in Macpherson contains nothing that he might not have found in the Life. Carte's notes of this treaty are so short, that they would be scarcely intelligible to any one who had not read a fuller account.

'In the beginning of 1669, the Duke of York sent for Father Simons, a learned English Jesuit, whom he wished to consult about

the proper means of being reconciled to the Church of Rome. The Father very sincerely told him, that unless he would quit the communion of the Church of England, he could not be received into the Catholic Church. The Duke thought it might be done by a dispensation from the Pope, alleging the advantage to the Catholic religion, and, in particular, to those of it in England, if he might have such a dispensation for outwardly appearing a Protestant, at least till he could own himself publicly to be a Catholic, with more security to his own person, and advantage to them. But the good Father insisted, that even the Pope himself had not the power to grant it; for it was an unalterable doctrine of the Catholic Church, not to do ill that good might follow. What this good Jesuit thus said, was afterwards confirmed to the Duke by the Pope himself, to whom he wrote upon the same subject.' Life James II. vol. I. p. 440, 441.

The Duke having been thus informed by this respectable and singular Jesuit, that he could not conscientiously profess a religion which he did not believe, no other expedient, unfortunately, occurred to him for the relief of his conscience, than that of a conspiracy, which would inevitably lead him through falsehood, fraud and blood, to impose on the majority of the people of England the necessity of practising that very hypocritical profanation against which he had himself been honestly warned. On the 25th of January 1669, the King, the Duke of York, the Lords Arundel and Arlington, with Sir Thomas Clifford, secretly met in the Duke's closet, to advise 'about the ways and methods for advancing the Catholic religion.'

'When they were met, according to the King's appointment, he declared his mind to them on the matter of religion, and repeated what he had newly before sayd to the Duke, how uneasy it was to him not to profess the faith he believed, and that he had called them together to have their advice about the ways and methods fittest to be taken for the settling of the Catholic religion in his kingdoms, and to consider of the time most proper to declare himself; telling them, withall, that no time ought to be lost; that *he was to expect to meet with many and great difficultys in bringing it about, and that he chose rather to undertake it now, when he and his brother were in their full strength, and able to undergo any fatigue*, than to delay it till they were grown older and less fitt to go thorow with so great a design. This he spake with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes; and added, that they were to go about it as wise men and good Catholics ought to do.

'The consultation lasted long; and the result was, that there was no better way for doing this great work, than to do it *in conjunction with France, and with the assistance of his Most Christian Majesty*, the House of Austria not being in condition to help in it; and, in pursuance of this resolution, Mons. de Croiry Colbert, the French Embassador, was to be trusted with the secret, in order to inform his

master of it, that he might receive a power to treat about it with our King. The doing of this took up much time; for the treaty held on, not only here, but also Lord Arundel was sent into France, to conferr with that King, and to conclude the treaty: Sir Richard Beling was entrusted to draw the articles, and to do the part of a Secretary in that negociation.

'The treaty was not finaly concluded and signed till about the beginning of 1670, the purport of which was, that the *French King was to give two hundred thousand pounds a year by quarterly payments*, the first of which to begin when the ratifications were exchanged, to enable the King *to begin the work* in England: That *when the Catholick religion was settled here, our King was to joyn with France in making war upon Holland:* That in case of success, *France was to have such a part* as was stipulated; the Prince of Orange *such* a share; and England *was to have Sluce, Cassant and Walkeren*, with the rest of the sea-ports as far as Maesland Sluce. The French had a great mind to have begun with the war of Holland first; but Lord Arundel being sent again over into France, convinced that King of the necessity of beginning first with the Catholicity here: And so it was at last adjusted, and the first payments began according to the articles.

'All this was transacted with the last secresy; and, in preparation thereunto, Collonel Fitzgerald, lately come from Tanger, where he had been *governor, was to have a new regiment of foot raised for him, and such officers chosen for it as might be confided in. His regiment was to put into Yarmouth, and he made governor of that important town. The Earle of Bath was governor of Plimouth, Lord Bellasis of Hull, Lord Widdrington of Berwick, all of them in whom the King might confide. The fleet and Portsmouth were in the Duke's hands*; nor was the generality of the Church-of-England men at that time very averse to Catholick religion. Many that went under that name had their religion to chuse, and went to church for company's sake. *The few troops that were on foot were look'd upon as well affected;* and their officers, all except Collonel Russel, *such as would serve the Crown without grumbleing or asking questions. The rigorous Church-of-England men were let loose, and encouraged, underhand, to prosecute according to the law the Nonconformists, to the end that these might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the Catholics prevailed.* But how all this design came to faile, an account shall be given in its proper place. The Duke of Buckingham, finding himself every day sinking lower and lower in the King's esteem and confidence, and that his application to his R. H. by the Earle of Berkshire (who, as I should have said before, was introduced by the Earle of Peterborow) had no effect; and also finding that his rivall Lord Arlington had, in like manner, made his addresses to the Duke with better success; and knowing, withall, the great credit which Madame the Dutchess of Orleans had with our King, he thought

he could not be better supported or buoyd up, than by her favour towards him; and the better to introduce himself, he entered into a treaty with Monsieur de Rouvigny (who was at that time the King of France's minister in England, who mistakingly thought that Duke to be still in his former favour with the King) about a stricter alliance between England and France, to be transacted with all secresy, only between that Duke on our King's part, and Madame for the King of France. In prosecution whereof, he sent over his great confident Sir Ellis Leighton, with recommendations from Monsieur de Rouvigny, to manage affaires with Madame. *In the mean time, the King kept the secret, and suffered this mock treaty to go on, that he might the better cover the reall one, of which neither Madame nor that Duke had the least knowledge;* whose cheif drift in his own new project was to keep himself up at the head of the ministry.

'This management was made a secret to his R. H. and to Lord Arlington. But after Sir Ellis was come back from France, and had settled a correspondence with Madame, his R. H. came accidentally to the knowledge of it, and at last received a full account of the whole transaction from Sir Ellis Leighton himself; and then gave notice of it to Lord Arlington; which served not a little to make the breach wider between him and the Duke of Buckingham, and to make him more firm in his R. H. interest, (whereunto Sir Thomas Clifford, that Lord's great friend, and a very stout and loyall man, did very much contribute), thō he still supported the creatures he had brought in, in opposition to the Duke.' 1*st Life James II.* p. 442–443.

'About the beginning of May in the same year, Madame, the King's only sister now living, came to Dover to meet her brother, which she had long desired to do, and which was now made easy to her, upon the King of France's coming then into Flanders to visit his new conquests: But this her journey prov'd to be unfortunate in many respects, and not only hurtfull to our King's affaires in generall, but particularly to those good measures (which) had been taken as to the Catholick religion. I have already mentioned how the private treaty was signed and exchanged by the two Kings, and that some of the mony, in pursuance of it, had been paid to the King; for thō the French allways shewed a strong inclination to have their own work done first, and to begin with the war against Holland, yet that King yielded at last to the convincing reasons that were given him to the contrary, as has already been said. But now again, still looking upon it as more advantageous for their own temporall concerns, to change those measures then taken, and knowing the great influence which, in all likelyhood, Madame would have upon the King her brother, it was resolved, by his Most Christian Majesty, to make use of her to bring that about which he so much desired: For which reason he consented to her journey, thō formerly he had been adverse to her making a visite to her brother in England, as also Monsieur was, for reasons of his own. She very

willingly undertook this commission, hoping thereby further to ingratiate herself with that King, and to be more considered in France, by shewing the power she had over the King her brother. She had indeed a mind to stay in England, not only out of love to her brother, but she presumed upon his temper and the ascendant she should have over him; and beleeved, that if once she could compass her living with him, she might govern all things here.

'When her coming over was first proposed, the Duke did not like it, fearing the ill consequences it might have, and afterwards did happen; and as dexterously as he could, without appearing downright against it, he did his utmost to hinder it, but without effect. Also an accident happen'd at that time, which did very much facilitate Madame's prevailing upon the King her brother; for a late new act of Parliament coming just at that time to be put in execution against Conventicles, the King thought it necessary to leave the Duke behind him in London, to prevent any disorder that might happen upon the first Sunday in which the Conventicles were to be shutt up and suppres'd, which fell upon the 10th of May; so that Madame arrived at Dover three or four days before the Duke could come thither. In which time, she had so prevail'd with the King, that, when the Duke arrived there, he found all the former measures broken, and the resolution taken to begin out of hand with the war with Holland; and it was no little surprise to his R. H. that both Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford, being gained by Madame, had concurred in it, who were the only two there present that knew of the secret treaty. They, meeting the Duke upon his first entring into Dover, before he had seen the King, told him what had been done; who answer'd them, he was very sorry for it, for he was sure it would quite defeat the Catholic design; because, when once his Majty was engaged in such an expensive war as that would be, and was not absolute master of affaires at home, he unavoidably would run in debt, and *must then be at the mercy of his Parliament*, which, as matters had been ordered, were not likely to be in very good humour; and therfor, thō they had given very large supplys for the former Dutch war, in all probability they would not do the same now, since that war was of their own proposall, wheras this is undertaken without their advice, and (in) conjunction with France; for which reason alone, they would not approve of it; and besides, it would give them a jealousy and suspicion of what was further intended. They answered; That as to what his R. H. feared of the King's running in debt, there would be no danger of it, since his Majty being to have fifty ships out, to which the French were to joyn thirty, that charge might be easily supported by the customes, which they reckoned at six hundred thousand pounds, and that such a fleet, they thought, would be sufficient to deal with the Dutch; *and that if the war succeeded, it was not much matter what people suspected.* The Duke told them, he was sure they took wrong measures as to the sea expence, for thō

the number of ships they mentioned might cost no more, and that he thought he should be able to look the Dutch in the face with eighty such ships as those, and fire ships proportionable; yet the necessary convoys for the preservation of trade, and the security of the plantations with a recruit of ships which must be got ready to joyn the fleet after an engagement, would go near to cost as much more, not to reckon the land forces which, upon this occasion, must of necessity be raised. All this, and more, the Duke afterward represented to the King, but could not prevaile to get that fatall Dutche war put off. Whilst Madame stayd at Dover, she prevailed with the King to pass by his displeasure to the Duke of Buckingham, and got him restored again to his Majesties favour and trust; and when his R. H. found fault with her for so doing, she ingenously told him, she did it to make her court to the King, who she saw had a mind to be press'd to do it. She also made the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington friends; and had at that time so much credit with the King, by reason of the opinion he had of her good understanding, and of his kindness to her, that she should have persuaded him to have done almost any thing she had a mind to. After about a fortnight's stay at Dover, she was call'd back to the French court, being upon their return towards Paris; and a litle after her arrivall at her own house at St Cloud, she dy'd of a sudden and violent distemper, which seized her but the evening before, to the great surprisé and grief of all the Royall Family. The manner of her death gave some suspicion that she was poyson'd; but the phisitions, when she was oppened, declared she was not.

'This voyage of Madame's into England made a noise beyond sea; and the Dutch were much alarm'd at it, whose jealousy was increased by the Duke of Buckingham's being sent soon after into France, insomuch that Monsieur Vanbeuning, their minister here, desir'd he might be impower'd to assure De Witt, that that Duke was sent upon nothing prejudiciall to his Masters.'

* * * * * *

'The year 1672 began with preparing the fleet with as little noise as might be, to have it in readiness to begin the war in the spring with the Dutch, in pursuance of the treaty above mention'd with France. Of the King's Cabinet Councill were then the Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Lauderdale, Earle of Arlington, Lord Clifford, and Lord Ashly Cooper, afterward Earle of Shaftesbury and Chancellor of England, and none more zealous than he for carrying on the war with Holland. Now, thō none of them but Lord Arlington and Clifford had knowledge of the secret treaty with France, which gave the first rise to this war, yet there were not wanting other specious reasons enough, to make the others enter into it; which were afterwards sett forth in his Majties declaration of war, published on the 28th of March of the present year. The war being thus resolved on, the first business was to provide money sufficient to carry it on; for which they could find no other expe-

dient, but stopping all payments in the Exchequer, with an allowance of interest of six per cent. to the persons unpayd, and this for the space of a year.'

'Though his Royal Highness was, in his own judgment, against entering into this war *before his Majesties power and authority in England had been better fixed and less precarious, as it would have been, if the private treaty first agreed on had not been altered* '—

It is not for the purpose of animadverting on the atrocity of this conspiracy that we have laid these curious extracts before our readers. The unanimous opinion of mankind has already been pronounced on this subject. But the above is an account of this plot, in the spirit, if not in the words, of one of the ring-leaders. It is of no small importance to the world to see in what light such transactions are viewed by Kings and Princes. This was a conspiracy to impose upon the people of England a system which they dreaded and detested. It could not be accomplished without the previous acquisition of absolute power, by the ordinary means of military force. Violent resistance, long and bloody struggles, were evidently foreseen. It was a project which required the spirit and vigour of youth in the two Royal Brothers; and which could not be postponed without danger, to an age of infirmity and irresolution. Small as the army then illegally kept up was, it was chiefly trusted as the means of enslaving the nation. Officers, educated in the exercise of despotic power in colonial possessions not administered by the constitution of England, were selected for the command of some important fortresses. Noblemen infatuated by loyalty, or blinded by bigotry, were put into command of others. The Duke of York was to employ his popularity in the navy, to seduce from the cause of their country that gallant body, the only armed force who are not the natural enemies of freedom. The King and the Duke trusted only two Cabinet Ministers with this criminal secret. They carried on the negociation for a year, during which they cheated Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Shaftesbury. Buckingham, however, too acute not to discover the path to royal favour,, tried a similar underplot of his own, into which Charles affected to enter, in order to hide the grand conspiracy which he thought mature for execution. He deceived Buckingham by this pretended acquiescence. He deceived the Dutchess of Orleans through Buckingham. He deceived his family, his ministers, his subjects, and all Europe. Even the Duke of York, the most faithful of accomplices, neither trusted the King, nor was trusted by him. Buckingham's mock treaty was kept secret from him, and he detected it. The object, as has already been observed, was the overthrow of the

fundamental laws by which the King reigned, and the Duke claimed to inherit. It was to subvert that which he was bound to maintain, by every obligation, civil, moral, or religious. The slightest attempt for the same purpose by any of his subjects, would have been justly punished as a crime of the deepest dye. To crown all, he was to call in the aid of a foreign prince, the general oppressor of Europe, and to receive clandestinely from him the reward of treachery to his own country. Every sentiment of royal dignity, every spark of national feeling, must have been extinguished. The first fruits of his league with the Tyrant of Europe, was to be an unjust war, for the partition of the territory of the only commonwealth that could serve as a barrier against the power of France, or as a safeguard to the religion and liberties of England.

This is, perhaps, the only occasion in which we can hear a great Prince speak of his own participation in such projects. And it is very remarkable that James and his biographer survey this plan with perfect seeming complacency. Not a symptom of remorse, nor even of regret, is betrayed, in this narrative of every crime that can be committed against society. The language in which all these frauds and perjuries, and meannesses and enormities are spoken of by the Royal historian, is also not a little instructive. ‘ The great work,’ which was to be accomplished before the war for the partition of Holland, is at first gently described as ‘ the settling ’ or establishment of ‘ Catholic religion in England.’ As this establishment was to be effected by an army, and by fortresses, and by foreign money, it evidently involved the establishment of despotism. But no doubt is left by the words of our biographer. ‘ H. R. H. was against ‘ entering into this war, *before his Majesty's power and authority* ‘ *had been better fixed and less precarious, as it would have been,* ‘ *if the private treaty first agreed on had not been altered*;’ *i. e.* if the Royal power, delivered from the restraints of law, and rendered absolute by the help of foreign money and military force, had established the Roman Catholic religion on the ruins of the laws, and in defiance of the people. The only circumstance in these transactions which James, on a subsequent survey of his own life, could, it seems, disapprove, was the imprudence of having attempted the plunder of Holland before England had been enslaved. In a passage which relates to the year 1681 (1st Life James II. p. 730), we have the good fortune to learn James's manner of representing such matters to himself, in his own words, which are quoted by the biographer from King Ja. Mem. tom. 9. p. 176. ‘ The Dutchess of Portsmouth ‘ prevailed with his Majesty to make her a grant of ten thou-

'sand pounds a quarter *out of his private French fund*, till 'a hundred thousand pound was run up, though it was THE 'KING'S MAIN SUPPORT TO DEFEND HIM FROM THE TYRANNY 'OF A PARLIAMENT.' A clandestine pension, which made Charles the mercenary dependent of a foreign Prince, the enemy of England and of all Europe, is called, in the courtly and extenuating language of James, 'his private French fund;' and 'the tyranny of Parliament' is his mode of considering the dependence of the Crown on Parliament for supply, without which the government of England would become necessarily and immediately despotic. It is clear that he considered the power of the purse in the House of Commons as a great evil, and a secret pension from France as a lawful and honourable means of escaping from it.

So inconceivable are the contradictions of human nature, that James and his correspondents, with all their consciousness of the measures in which they were engaged, yet in their confidential letters express the utmost indignation against the Dutch embassadors for '*flying out into such abusive expressions against the King as accusing him of* BRIBERIE FROM FRANCE.' (1st Life James II. p. 721, from 2d Letters, p. 847.) When they speak thus in their confidential correspondence, it is little to add, that in the Duke of York's Speech to the Parliament of Scotland, as in all other public acts, and in the language of the King and his ministers on all occasions, nothing is to be found but professions of the purest intention to maintain the religion and liberties of the kingdom. Whoever had ventured in public to doubt these professions, would not only have been punished as a libeller, but would probably have been regarded as an incendiary by the majority of candid and moderate men.

Those atrocious projects, though not known at the time in the full detail, and on the clear evidence in which they are known to us, were doubtless suspected, and on probable grounds believed, by the most considerable persons of this country. They are evidently alluded to by Sir W. Temple in that remarkable conversation with Charles himself, of which he has left us so interesting an account, and which may be regarded as a perfect model of the language to be used to a Sovereign by a counsellor at once enlightened, upright, conciliatory, sincere and prudent. Sir William Temple concealed nothing from Lord Essex. If Lord Russell could have been generally ignorant of the existence of such plans, it is impossible that in a long course of years he should have collected nothing of them from a person so closely connected with his family as Rouvigny. Sidney, who, during his residence in France, had undoubtedly much intercourse with

the most distinguished persons of that country, could hardly fail to discover some symptoms of designs which he was so much predisposed to suspect. Montague, the Embassador in Paris, who had disclosed some of his diplomatic secrets, was not likely to have altogether concealed this master secret. Shaftesbury was too acute an observer not to have carried with him into opposition, some knowledge of a confederacy, from which his own exclusion is the most honourable fact in his long life, and that which most strongly tends to show, that his subserviency to the Court had some limits. The Duke of Buckingham, after having been allowed to carry on a mock treaty with France, differing more in the terms than in the object, from the real treaty, joined the party in opposition to the Court. Through these, and many other no longer discoverable channels, much of this conspiracy most certainly transpired. Hence arose the general belief of its existence at the time, and its adoption by almost all succeeding historians, even by Mr Hume, before he had seen, in James's Memoirs, the confession of an impenitent criminal. It has never been sufficiently considered, that the great and good men who were unhappily duped by the monstrous fictions of Titus Oates, were betrayed into that fatal error by their knowledge of the existence of this real and most atrocious plot. And when we reflect that fourteen years elapsed before they began to deliberate on the means of resisting this conspiracy against Religion and Liberty, we shall surely be disposed rather to admire their long patience, than to blame, as wanton or premature, those attempts in which they sacrificed their lives for their country.

But, to return from this historical digression to our proposed task of analyzing and appreciating the component parts of this work. Of the three parts which compose it, namely, 1. Quotation from James's Memoirs; 2. Reference to them; and, 3. General compilation by an almost unknown writer—we need not repeat that the nature and value are extremely different.

James himself, wherever we have his own words, must always be considered as a witness of high importance, deserving, in all cases, great attention, though not in all the same credit. Where he relates transactions in which he himself took a part, and where his relation is either adverse or indifferent to his own cause, he is one of the most credible of witnesses. Wherever he manifestly labours to excuse or to extenuate his own conduct, he must be listened to with the distrust to which all men are liable, when they bear witness for themselves. What is said without a purpose, is more unquestionable than what is intentional. What he seems to have written at the moment, is of more value

than what appears to have been the result of recollection at a distant period. What he reports concerning contemporary events, of which he had no direct knowledge, must be taken as the testimony of a common narrator, not much practised in the arts of balancing evidence and estimating probability. With respect to the references, no intention to deceive can reasonably be imputed to the abridger. As his manuscript was to be preserved in the same depositories with the King's original Memoirs, the means of detecting misrepresentation were too uniformly at hand, to allow a suspicion that any man of common sense could intentionally mistate the contents of James's narrative, in the place where his reference would instantly expose the mistatement. Still we must admit, that the part of this Life supported by references, is of inferior authority to that which is composed of extracts. Something may often depend on peculiarity of expression, in which the abridger may be negligent, or ignorant, or prejudiced. He may, or rather he must, be insensibly betrayed, by his partialities and antipathies, into extenuation or aggravation, in those numerous cases where a word of a fainter or stronger shade, may decide the moral colour of an action. With respect to the portion of the work neither supported by references nor made up of quotations, exact criticism requires that we should distinguish the portion between 1660 and 1678 from the rest. There being no extracts or references in that part of the narrative, and some parts of it (such as the account of the secret treaty with France) being, as we know from other sources, in substance taken from the King's journals, we cannot certainly distinguish what proportion does not rest on the testimony of James. But, wherever quotation and reference form the basis of the narrative, it may be laid down as a general maxim, that what does not rest upon either, is evidence of the lowest kind, being only to be considered by us as the testimony of an anonymous Jacobite exile, probably at a great distance of time after the events, of whose veracity or information we can know nothing, but of whose prejudices we might be assured from his situation, if the narration did not sufficiently prove them.

The suppression of this fundamental distinction is the material charge against Macpherson. It is, substantially, that he has made the nameless compiler of the same authority with the King. Against this charge, it seems difficult if not impossible to vindicate him. Three suppositions only can be made with respect to the manuscript read by him at the Scotch College. Either he read the Memoirs only—or he read the Memoirs and Life—or he read the Life only. The first supposition is positively con-

tradicted by the testimony of the Superiors of the Scotch College to Mr Fox. It is improbable that a person admitted to the perusal of the most confidential manuscripts, should have been refused access to another much less precious manuscript preserved in the same depository. If he neglected to avail himself of the permission to read it, he was at least bound to apprize the reader of the distinction between the two manuscripts, instead of insinuating, by the indiscriminate use of the terms 'Life' and 'Memoirs,' that they were one and the same. Many of his extracts betray the more pompous style of the compiler, and are without the ease and negligence which would probably characterize the original journals. In one or two places of the text of Macpherson's extracts, (see 1st Macph. State Papers, 145), there are references which seem to be to the Memoirs, though they are not named, but they are probably copied from the text of the Life. That Macpherson read the Life, and probably only the Life, and that he has suppressed the distinction which appears in almost every page of it, between the King's part and the compiler's, are facts which appear to be established against that writer, as clearly as can be expected in such cases. Of their importance, the public will judge in one or two examples.

In 1st Macph. State Papers, p. 148, is the following extract, which the reader, after perusing the language of Macpherson's Preface, naturally conceives to be that of James II.—'1686, Sunderland, besides having a pension from the Prince of Orange, had one from the King of France.'

The following passage of the work before us, which states the same circumstance, is supported neither by quotation nor reference, though, within two pages of it, there are found pretty considerable extracts from James's original Memoirs.

'It may be wondered what should prompt a man (Lord Sunderland) that seemed to be at the top of his expectation, to cut the ground away from under his own feet, and destroy the government wherein he had the greatest share of authority and advantage; for which reason *I dare not* say, it was his primary intention, but when he *found the king in* a dangerous situation, (which he had the chief hand in leading him to), he thrust him forward towards the precipice, to gain an interest with him he saw was about to supplant him. Besides, his extravagant expenses made him seek foreign pensions; for which service was expected, and it was not to be wondered at, if he ruined one master since he served so many; for, besides the Prince of Orange, he had a pension from the King of France, as his most Christian Majesty acquainted the King after the Revolution, and tould him he always thought it was by his approbation, which, to be sure, the King would never have suffered, had he known it.' 2d Life James II. p. 72.

Grave as the charge in Macpherson's extract against Sunderland is, the reader is inclined to believe what James was likely to know if it were true, and in a private journal had hardly any temptation to invent if it were otherwise. To put therefore into the mouth of James, a charge of this nature, which rests upon the mere assertion of an anonymous writer, is a proceeding which we forbear to characterize. It must not be forgotten, that the above passage is not distinguished alone by the omission of quotation or reference to the King's journals. The writer has particularly distinguished himself from the King. He says, '*I dare* not say,' and 'the King.' And the language which he uses at the conclusion, '*to be sure* the King never would have suffered,' plainly imports that the writer delivers only his own confident conviction about the King's opinion, as he would about the opinion of any other man with whose character and sentiments he thought himself well acquainted.

Whoever will compare the Reflections on the Prosecution of the Bishops in 1st Macpherson State Papers, p. 152, with the work before us (2d Life James II. p. 156–158), will be satisfied that Macpherson's extract is made from the Life; that the style is that of the writer of a book, and not a journal; and that the reflections on the impolicy of the King's measures, are those of a spectator, and cannot be those of any man on one of the most important acts of his own life. There are some omissions and abridgements in Macpherson's Extract; but the body of it is so evidently taken from the narrative of the King's Life, that we lay before our readers the two passages, as sufficient proof that the Life was the original from which Macpherson's extracts were made.

Macpherson's Extract.	Life of James.
'In the case of the Bishops, there is no doubt but the King had done better in not forcing some wheels when he found the whole machine stop. But it was his misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous councills (vol. IV. p. 322), with intent to widen the breach between him and his subjects. But his prepossession against the yeilding temper which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the King his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He	'There is no doubt but, according to human prudence, his Majesty had done better in not forcing some wheels, when he found the whole machine stop; but his too great attention to what he thought just and reasonable, hindered him from reflecting on what (to be sure) had been more safe, as the case then stood. For, how could he expect obedience or assistance from those he had long observed were sowing tares so industriously amongst the people, and they so ready to receive them? or that those should be the fittest

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had always preached against the wavering councills of his brother; and, seeing that other Bishops made not the same difficulty, and since many complied, he thought the rest ought to do the same. The King, therefore, gave more easily into the Chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient. It was, however, a fatal council; for, besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the King more cautious in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the Queen's being with child. It was that gave the alarm; and, by consequence, required a greater attention, to avoid every cause of complaint.'

LIFE.

persons to bind up the wounds, who did all they could to make them bleed afresh? But it was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous councells, with intent (as was suspected) to widen the breach, and therefore encouraged his persisting in those ways which he might have seen would not go down with the multitude; but his prepossession against that yeilding temper, which had proved so dangerous to the King his brother, and so fatal to the King his father, fixed him *too obstinately* in a contrary method. He had observed, that nothing was more pernitious to them, than their frequent goings back from such councells as had been prudently resolved upon, which determined him not to fall into the same errour he had so much preached against in his brother's reign. His Majesty saw, likewise, that other Bisshops made not the same difficulty; and, since many complied, it seemed natural to think those punishable who did it not. Hence it was, he gave more easily into the Chancellor's advice, who thought his having reprimanded them not sufficient.

* * * *

'Besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the King more cautious in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the Queen's being with child. It was that that gave the alarm on all sides, and, by consequence, required a greater attention to avoid the least suspicion.'

If our readers agree with us, that the comparison of the foregoing passages affords satisfactory proof, that Macpherson certainly copied the Life in a place where the Life did not copy the Memoirs, they will not require many observations on one or two examples of that writer's mode of quotation which remain to be produced.

In 1st Macph. State Papers, Vol. I. p. 146, we find an anecdote of Sheldon informing James, in the presence of Lord Sunderland, that he (Sheldon) was directed by Monmouth to acquaint the King that Lord Sunderland had promised 'to meet him,' in order to join the insurrection. But Macpherson withholds from us the important information, that this anecdote, so extremely improbable in itself, rests only on the testimony of the anonymous writer of James's Life, which he has not thought fit to support by any reference to the King's own Memoirs.

The extract (1st Macph. p. 143), in which King William is charged with prompting Monmouth to invade England to serve his own purposes, the reader will also find to be almost a literal transcript of the Life, and in a part of which the general laboured and declamatory style excludes the supposition of a copy from the Journals.—2d Life James II. p. 25.

It is but justice to observe, that his own language on this subject, which is copied in the next page (2d Life James II. p. 26.) from a MS. called 'King James's Loose Sheets,'* is much more cautious, and indeed strictly limited to *information* said to be received from Holland, that the expeditions of Monmouth and Argyll were countenanced by the Prince of Orange. Monmouth's own letter to James, imploring for mercy, disproves the story; for he appeals to the Prince and Princess of Orange as witnesses of the assurance which he gave them, 'that he would not stir against the King.' In a note to 1st Macph. State Papers, p. 144, is the following bold assertion—'Monmouth confessed every thing to Sheldon. He discovered *the intrigues of the Prince of Orange*, and of his own abettors in England.' What colour there is for the most important part of this assertion, we cannot venture to conjecture. We have in vain looked for any such story in Macpherson's Extracts, or in the present Life. If other searchers should not be more fortunate, it will be unnecessary to make farther animadversions upon the historical character of Macpherson. Even in a part of the narrative which is copied from the King's Memoirs, that which relates to the supposed project of Lord Churchill, to carry the

* This MS. appears to have formed the tenth volume of the Memoirs which related to the events of James's own reign.

King prisoner from Warminster to the Dutch camp, Macpherson has two omissions, both of which are suspicious. The King tells us, that 'this project was generally believed afterwards.' Macpherson omits 'afterwards.' He suppresses also the mitigating reflection with which the anecdote is terminated, not indeed by the King, but by the biographer—'perhaps they might pretend that it was not with intention to have done him any personal harm, only force him to consent to what they thought reasonable.'

The curious narrative of the negotiations of Lord Preston and Mr Bulkeley with the English jacobites in 1691, deserves both a closer examination and a more minute comparison with Macpherson's Extracts, than we have now space or leisure to bestow upon it. There is one somewhat remarkable phrase common to Macpherson's Extracts, and to the present works. James's partisans are said in both to have been content '*that he might live a Catholic in devotion, but must reign a Protestant in government.*' This antithesis savours so much more of the style of a compiler, than of the negligent diction of a familiar Journal, that it might be considered in itself as a strong presumption of the Extracts having been made from the Life. To this internal evidence it must be added, that the passage does not profess to be in any respect taken from the original Memoir;—that scarcely any political memoirs were written by James after his return from Ireland, as we learn from Nairn; ‡

‡ 'All those memoirs of passages which occurred before his last escape out of England, have been happily preserved, though they were writ on several loose papers, *and they may possibly serve hereafter for making a complete and authentic history of his whole life;* they being safely kept by H. M. order in the library of the Scotch College at Paris. But these writ by him since the Revolution are of a quite different nature.——In these he describes what passed within his soul, filled with sentiments of repentance and devotion.' *Nairn in 1st Macph. State Papers, p.* 246.

From this passage, in which the author speaks of the King as dead, we learn, with absolute certainty, 1*st*, That the Life was not then composed: 2*d*, That the King left very few materials for the latter part of it; so that the want of quotation or reference is more fatal to the authority of assertions which relate to this period, than to that of allegations equally unsupported in former portions of the work: 3*d*, That Macpherson's assertion in p. 260, that the observations on the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, 'though written by another hand, were done under James's inspection, and corrected by himself,' is demonstrated to be false by the note of Nairn, which Macpherson himself has published.

—and that, agreeably to that information, we do not find above nine or ten references to his Memoirs in that part of this narrative which relates the occurrences of that period. If, then, Macpherson be presumed to have made his extracts from the Life, what are we to think of his suppression of the strong doubts evidently felt by the biographer, probably in common with the whole Court of St Germains, whether the supposed overtures of Lord Churchill, Lord Godolphin, and Lord Halifax, were sincere. In an extract otherwise full, the following sentence is omitted. 'It is hard, considering what has happened, to make a right judgement of their intentions, and whether they had any farther aim in what they did, than to secure themselves against the just resentment of an offended Prince, should he fortune to return by other means.' In like manner, the following sentence is omitted. 'Lord Dartmouth's proffer of service, which he sent by Mr Lloid, *though it was probably more sincere*, proved of as little use as the rest.' In the passage which relates to the charges made by Sir John Fenwick, the following sentence, omitted by Macpherson, is very important, if not altogether decisive. 'For the Prince of Orange, looking never the worse upon my Lord Godolphin and Admiral Russell, was an argument *he had been no stranger to their practices;* but it was a check on others, who *perhaps* meant better; of which number, *whether my Lord Churchill was to be counted or no, is still a mystery, and the vail is like to remain upon it.*' The historical importance of the last words will be felt, if we keep in mind that they were written after 1702, and that they must be considered as expressing the general opinion of the court of St Germains at that period. The effect of the suppression of these passages is to give a character of conviction and certainty to the narrative in Macpherson's Notes, instead of that hesitation and doubt, at last approaching to disbelief, which he found in his sole authority.

Of an act of attainder, we shall never speak without disapprobation. But the importance of this publication, as detecting the infidelity of Macpherson's Extracts, is no where more apparent than in the case of Sir John Fenwick. Our readers will recollect, that the indictment against Sir John had been found on the evidence of two witnesses, one of whom (Goodman) had been prevailed upon to leave the kingdom before trial, which by law rendered it impossible to convict Sir John of treason. The only extenuation of the attainder was, that the Jacobites had prevailed on Goodman to fly. Macpherson found, in the Life before us, the following admission of that fact by the Court of St Germains, which he deliberately withheld from the

knowledge of the public. ' Before they could bring him (Sir John Fenwick) to a tryal, *some of the King's friends* had prevailed with Mr Goodman to withdraw himself into France. ' 2d Life James II. 557.

The various negociations relating to the Jacobite plots to assassinate King William, and Sir G. Barclay's mission to London, in which he thought himself authorized by James's commission to engage in that design, are to be found at length in this work; and they are the more important, because James's sentiments on the assassination are given partly in his own words. Plans of assassination were proposed to him at different periods, from 1693 to 1696. He refused to give any authority for such an attempt. But it does not appear that he ceased to keep up the closest connexion with those who had proposed it, or that he considered them in any worse light than as faithful and zealous partisans, transported by their zeal beyond the bounds of prudence or propriety. There are no traces of that ' vehemence ' with which Macpherson supposes James to have rejected the proposal. Twice, if we may believe James's own words, ' his Majesty would not hear of it, looking upon the project *as impracticable*, and exposeing his friends, when he had no prospect of seconding them. ' A warrant to seize William's person, which would have been in fact an order for his assassination, was again refused in 1695, to Clench or Crosbie, whom James, as it appears in the sequel, suspected of being employed by King William. To require indeed an express warrant for such an act, was a demand of a very extraordinary nature, which might be refused without any strong repugnance to assassination. We are told by James, that notwithstanding these refusals, ' upon Sir George Barclay's being in London, with a power to levy war, they (the assassins) proposed their old project to him, which it seems he accepted of, and prepared to attack the Pce of Orange, with about fortie hors, on the road, as he went too or came from hunting at Richmond, whereas his commission imported no such thing. ' 2d Life James II. p. 543. from King James's Memoirs, tom. 9. p. 400.

Sir G. Barclay's narrative follows. It does not appear that he forfeited James's favour after his return to France. Charnock's vindication of the assassination, upon the principles of tyrannicide, is stated by the biographer at length, and without any blame. We hear much of James's sorrow for the death of his partisans, and for the injury done to his cause. But it will not be easy to find any history of a projected assassination, in which the calmness of the narrative is less disturbed by vehement abhorrence of the crime.

ART. VII. *A Narrative of Events which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a Gentleman on the spot.* 8vo. pp. 73. London. Egerton, 1815.

THERE is perhaps no passage in the history of our oriental policy which exhibits so strong a contrast to the ostensible principles of our conduct in Europe, as the short and successful war described in these pages. While we were exhausting every phrase of indignation against the aggressions of France, the proceedings of our own viceroys in the East, generally afforded examples of the very defects which we ascribed to the enemy; and it must also be admitted, that their talents, both in the cabinet and in the field, never failed to secure those advantages which for so many years made us envy the enterprizes of the French government. At the present moment, while we are protecting the Bourbon dynasty, and all other legitimate rulers, upon the principle of supporting hereditary right, without much regard to merit, our Indian governors are acting upon the very opposite principle, calling hereditary sovereigns to account for their misconduct, and dethroning them for maltreating their own subjects. The tract before us is understood to come from high authority; and the story of the Kandian war is told in it with so much clearness, and in such good plain language, that we have much satisfaction in following the narrative.

The contest arose in the following manner. Our unfortunate attack in 1803, had failed from being premature. The tyranny of the King, though intolerable, had not yet lasted long enough to spread a spirit of insurrection through his people; but, intoxicated with his success on that occasion, he had given vent to all his passions and caprices; and many partial rebellions in consequence broke out. The period seemed approaching when the natives generally might be expected to rise against him, and solicit our interposition in their behalf. This crisis was hastened by the following occurrence. Early in the year 1814, the first Adikar, or prime minister, who was also governor of a province, was summoned to Court, to answer some charge made against him. He prudently declined, from an accurate knowledge of the process of impeachment in that country, which is considerably shorter, and more efficacious than in this. His province rose and joined his standard; he immediately opened a communication with General Brownrigg, offering to surrender his district to us; but this was prudently declined, as the measure seemed still somewhat premature. The proceedings taken by the '*Legitimate Monarch*' of Kandy, upon this oc-

casion, are worthy of notice; they were in the nature of what we term in England the process to compel an appearance, though not precisely the same in form. They were as follows.

'It would be difficult to mark the character of the savage king in a stronger light than is exhibited in the steps which he took on the defection of the Adikar. The family of this Chief, who, agreeably to the custom of the court, had been detained as hostages for his good conduct, were instantly singled out by the King as the victims of his indiscriminating revenge; and the cruelties exercised on them present a dreadful picture of horror and disgust.—The mother and five children, the eldest of whom was a lad of eighteen, and the youngest an infant at the breast, were bound, and led into the market-place. The infant was torn from the arms of its mother; and its head being severed from its body, the parent was compelled to pound it in a mortar. The others were murdered in succession, the eldest being reserved for the last victim: and this scene of wanton and savage butchery was crowned by what every feeling mind will contemplate as an act of supreme, though unintentional mercy, the sacrifice of the mother herself." p. 3, 4.

The reader will naturally be desirous to learn the subsequent history of this unhappy man;—and the following passage conveys it in a manner at once simple and touching.

'The slaughter of his family appears to have subdued for a time the natural energy of the Adikar's character, and to have induced a torpor of action which was at this season the ruin of his cause. His followers, disheartened by the inactivity of their Chief, were soon routed by the King's troops; and after an ineffectual resistance of a few days duration, the Adikar fled into the British territories, and implored an asylum from the government.

'The protection he asked, however, was afforded in the most cautious manner, and every measure was resorted to, which a government, scrupulous of giving umbrage to a neighbouring power, could have adopted. The public reception which he courted was refused; and it was not until he had resided for some time in Colombo, that General Brownrigg acceded to his proposal of being favoured with an interview at his Excellency's country-house.

'The interest excited on both sides by so extraordinary a scene as that of a Kandian Chief, who had resided the whole of his life in his native mountains, presenting himself before a British Governor, and imploring protection and succour, may be easily imagined. The forlornness of his condition derived additional claims to sympathy from the overwhelming force of his domestic afflictions; and these were claims which, he might well know, would find a powerful advocate in the breast of that governor from whom he sought all the relief and consolation which could yet be afforded him. He was received with the most distinguished kindness and respect, and was so affected with the novelty of his situation, and the unwonted kindness of a superior, that, regardless of the forms of introduction, he

burst into tears. As soon as he was composed, the Governor soothed him with promises of favour and protection. The Adikar replied, that he looked to his Excellency as his father; that he had been deprived of all the natural ties of relationship, and trusted that the favour he solicited of being allowed to call the Governor and Mrs Brownrigg his parents would not be denied him. It was a strong, but natural mode of expressing what he felt; and his gratitude at finding his request assented to, was unbounded.

'The astonishment of this Chief at all he beheld may be easily conceived. The romantic beauty of the house, situated on a rock overhanging the sea, an element of which he had entertained such confused ideas, but which he had never till now perfectly seen, struck him most forcibly. After looking minutely at the furniture of the house, he approached, cautiously, the pillars of the verandah, and gave himself entirely up to the admiration which the novelty of the scene before him could not fail to inspire. A ship, which was passing at the moment, was a fresh object of wonder; and, when it was explained to him, he said he had heard of such things, and was happy to have enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing what he now saw. Being asked if this was the first time he beheld the sea, he said he had occasionally obtained a very distant and imperfect view of it from a high mountain; but the largest piece of water he had ever approached was a lake in the Kandian country, the extent of which he described by looking and pointing through the two pillars of the verandah, the opening between which commanded but a partial view of the ocean before him.' p. 4—7.

The tyrant having wreaked his vengeance upon his own subjects, thought proper to begin upon those of the British Government, and seized ten peaceable inhabitants of a frontier village; carried them to Kandy, where, without even a charge against them, he mutilated them in so shocking a manner, that seven died upon the spot, and the rest came back in a state well calculated to awaken the indignation of their fellow-subjects. General Brownrigg was however compelled, by the unfavourable season of the year, and the expectation of reinforcements from Madras, to proceed very slowly in his measures of retaliation; and the proclamation which he issued, wisely recommended to the Kandians to continue their present intercourse, but stated nothing which was likely to implicate them in any of his future proceedings, so as to draw down upon them prematurely the vengeance of their despot. Such, at least, we conceive to have been the tenor of this document; for the one referred to in the Narrative, as Appendix A, by some mistake is not to be found; the proclamation there inserted is the one upon commencing hostilities. At length the preparations being completed, the army marched on the 9th of December, having been previously assured of cordial cooperation from the

inhabitants. The whole force did not exceed three thousand men, and the General put himself at their head. Before setting out, he issued a proclamation, stating the grounds of the invasion. These are, undoubtedly, not the irruption of a Kandian force into our territory, mentioned in the outset, because that happened long after the expedition was prepared, and when it was on the very eve of marching—but the conduct of the King towards our subjects and his own. The following passages deserve the reader's best attention: he will be pleased to bear in mind, that they refer to the conduct pursued by a *legitimate* hereditary sovereign towards his people.

'But it is not against *the Kandian nation* that the arms of his Majesty are directed; his Excellency proclaims hostility against that tyrannical power alone, which has provoked, by aggravated outrages and indignities, the just resentment of the British nation, which has cut off the most ancient and noble families in his kingdom, deluged the land with the blood of his subjects, and, by the violation of every religious and moral law, become an object of abhorrence to mankind.

'For securing the permanent tranquillity of these settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the *deliverance of the Kandian people from their oppressions;* in fine, for the subversion of that Malabar dominion which during three generations *has tyrannized over the country,* his Excellency has resolved to employ the powerful resources placed at his disposal.' p. 56.

Thus was a war commenced, of which at least one very prominent object was avowed to be the punishment of intolerable tyranny, and the delivery of a people from the oppressions of an arbitrary and cruel, but a *rightful* sovereign. Under such auspices, and for purposes like these, the army advanced; the proclamation was circulated every where among the people; read with avidity, and met with a cordial reception. The enemy hardly showed himself in the field, and scarcely disputed the more tenable passes; the little resistance he made, was easily overpowered, and measures were taken for preventing the King's retreat. He, on his part, appears to have been lulled into security by the means usually adopted with persons of his profession. For a long time, he would not believe that we intended to invade his territory; 'his flatterers had persuaded him, that the British Government never would recover the fatal campaign of 1803.' And when a messenger brought intelligence of our army having actually passed the frontier, His Most Kandian Majesty was pleased to direct, in reply, that his head be forthwith struck off. In like manner, another informant was rewarded for an account of our further progress, by being impaled alive. Notwithstanding this vigorous conduct and brave

disbelief of his danger, however, some symptoms appeared, which must have given the Royal mind reason to suspect that all was not in 'a satisfactory state.' One appearance, well known in all courts, was truly ominous;—a minister of state suddenly changed sides, and went over to the English camp. The Noble Lord (as we should term him) carried with him his orders, and much valuable property. This movement operated as a signal to lesser folks; and the *ratting* (to use an European expression for an instinct inherent in the species, and common to all nations) became general. A slight difficulty occurred here, which is exactly of a piece with what happens upon similar occasions in our part of the world.

'No arrangement of offices could be concerted at this stage of the enterprize; but it was felt that if Molligodde was received with the honours of a Dessave, he could not afterwards be deprived of them. A slight diplomatic distinction obviated all jealousy, and contented both parties. It was observed that the honours belonged to the insignia of the Dessavony, and not to the Dessave—that the act of surrender should be attended with all possible state—and that Molligodde must in consequence march in with his full honours; but having deposited the rolls and banner, he would of course no longer look for the same ceremonies on taking leave, but would retire with only the honours of an Adikar, to which Eheilapola had no kind of objection.

'In this little question of etiquette, there was something characteristic of the manners of the Kandian court; but in substance the point was a natural one, and its discussion was conducted with politeness and liberality. Molligodde, of his own accord, proposed, in retiring from the audience of reception, to pay a visit to Eheilapola, which was agreed to; and the few particulars that are known of the interview are truly affecting: The visiter introduced himself with an exclamation that he was a ruined man. "What then am I?" said Eheilapola. Distressing recollections attached to this question, and both the chiefs burst into tears.' p. 19, 20.

The Monarch, seeing himself deserted by all but his nearest relations, to avoid being surrounded, precipitately left his capital, which was entered by our troops upon the 14th February. The first objects that presented themselves, were the remains of persons impaled; and they met a poor English soldier, who had been taken in 1803, and survived the massacre. His adventures would fill a volume, says our author; and we are glad to find that there is an intention of publishing them. We do not therefore dwell upon them in this place, but proceed with the Narrative. A great part of the females and treasures of the tyrant were soon captured; and, at the expiration of four days, our troops succeeded in taking the monster himself. The fol-

lowing passage shows how completely he acted up to the character of his tribe, and betrayed, in his fall, the cowardly, abject spirit, which ever lurks beneath the outward semblance of dignity and vigour wherewithal despotism is wont to array itself.

'In the most abject manner he implored protection for himself and his wives; and he could stoop to ask it from the dependants of the man whose wife and children he had so recently murdered with circumstances of such wanton barbarity. His life was spared; but from the indignation and contempt of his subjects, it was impossible to protect the tyrant. They bound him like a felon, and dragged him to the nearest village, upbraided him, spit on him; till, at length, wearied with their own execrations, they left him to all the repose which the dreadful reverse of his fortunes would at present permit him to enjoy.

'On the succeeding morning, Mr D'Oyly paid a visit to the fallen monarch. On entering the apartment, he found him surrounded by his mother, his wives and family, who were all in the deepest consternation and affliction, which had been increased by some idle reports, circulated by the Kandians, of an intention on the part of the British government to bring the King to trial, and disgrace his family. Mr D'Oyly humanely assured them that his person should not only be safe, but that he should be treated with every degree of respect and attention. The King, who was at first sullen and reserved, now betrayed evident signs of emotion; and, taking the hands of his aged mother and four wives, he presented them successively to Mr D'Oyly, and recommended them in the most solemn and affecting manner to his protection. In the Governor's assurances, he said, he had perfect confidence, as he knew him to be a good man, who would injure no one, and desired his respects might be presented to him.' p. 26—28.

The greatest joy was diffused over the island, by the happy success of this enterprize. The people seemed to breathe once more, when they found their oppressor disarmed of all power, and his means of doing mischief transferred to the hands of a beneficent government. As for the tyrant himself, he was conveyed to Colombo in a private manner, and lodged in a spacious house fitted up for his reception. In the largest room was placed a *musnud*, or ottoman, covered with scarlet cloth, which he no sooner espied than 'he sprang upon it with great agility, and, seating himself in a most unkingly attitude, with his legs drawn under him, looked round the room, which he surveyed with great complacency.' There is something extremely disgusting in the mixture of levity and cruelty which seem to make up this wretch's character. The reader of the following anecdotes will, however, speedily recognize similar traits in other portraits of tyrants both of ancient and modern times.

'Wikreme Rajah Sinha is in his person considerably above the middle size, of a corpulent, yet muscular appearance, and with a physiognomy which is at all times handsome, and frequently not unpleasing. His claim to talent has been disputed by many who have had an opportunity of conversing with him; but he is certainly not deficient in shrewdness or comprehension. With an utter indifference to all feelings of humanity, he possesses a great share of what is called good humour; and the affability with which he answered the questions that are addressed to him, is at least unexpected, while the ease and sang-froid with which he communicated some of the most extraordinary and murderous anecdotes of his reign is truly surprizing. He passes with great rapidity from one story of court intrigue to another; but it is to be observed, that the invariable issue of the whole of these anecdotes, is the cutting off the offender's head, flogging him to death, impaling him alive, or pounding him in a mortar, as the caprice of the moment might have dictated; and all his surprize seems to be, that the English should feel any great indignation at what he had always considered a mere matter of course and pastime.—"The English governors, however," he observed to Major Hook, "have one advantage over us kings of Kandy:—they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do any thing in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few punishments; but unfortunately for us, the offender is dead, before our resentment has subsided."

'His Majesty's general reception of his English visitors is by a cordial shake of the hand.—With one officer he was particularly affable. He asked him if he would like to see the Queens? His visiter replied in the affirmative, but begged to know in what manner he was to receive them. "Why," said his Majesty, laughing very heartily, "in any way you please:—they are rather dirty just now, as their clothes have not arrived from Kandy; and so you may take your choice,—either shake hands with them, or embrace them."

'This anecdote is one of many which might be adduced in illustration of the levity of this extraordinary man's character. He had, during the first week of his arrival, established a reputation for great fortitude and resignation; and there were not wanting some few to undertake his defence, and ascribe the tyrannical measures of his reign to evil counsellors. An occurrence shortly took place, however, which set his character in its true light.

'He had applied for the attendance of four of the female prisoners, who were originally servants of the Queens. His request was granted; and on the same night one of these poor creatures was delivered of a child in the house in which the King was residing. The instant he heard this piece of intelligence, he insisted on the woman's removal. "She was useless, and he would not allow her to remain." Colonel Kerr sent to remonstrate on the cruelty of such a step in her present condition, and declined complying with the King's solicitation. The tyrant flew from one apartment to the other; ex-

claimed that he would neither eat, drink nor sleep, till he was satisfied; reviled the sentries; and behaved in so frantic a manner at this first opposition to his will, that Colonel Kerr, apprehensive of his murdering the woman, ordered her, even at the hazard of her life, to be removed to a place of safety.' p. 31–34.

It seems, however, that his predominating feeling was indignation at the treatment he had received from his own subjects; and this led him to reveal the places where his treasure was hid, lest it might fall into the hands of his people. Upon the anecdotes just related, we must be permitted to remark, that without meaning to draw any comparison between the two personages, in general no one can read the account of the Kandian tyrant's manner while in captivity, (if we except his undignified posture, according to our notions of propriety), without being reminded of a much greater man, and more wholesale destroyer of his species, whom our arms have lately rendered harmless like him.

The discovery of the Kandian treasures sets the author of the Narrative upon a detailed description of ornaments, chairs, thrones, footstools, sceptres, and a variety of other matter, highly interesting, no doubt, to the captors, but not worth troubling our readers with. We pass on, therefore, to the settlement of the government, which next occupied the attention of the British commander. As there were many conflicting interests to reconcile, and jealousies to overcome, our author says 'it was some time before a day could be fixed for a solemn audience of the headmen, and the signature of a permanent convention.' The day, he adds, was *at length* fixed, and the convention made. The European reader will smile, when he learns in what this great delay consisted; the capital was entered February 14th; the King was caught the 18th; and the whole settlement was concluded on the *second of March*. A proclamation of the Governor, stated the general views with which a convention was to be entered upon. It enumerated, not only the tyrant's acts of aggression against the British territory, but his misgovernment at home. After mentioning the appeal made to us by the people for protection against him, it showed that 'their opposition to him was not licentious,' nor 'their complaints groundless,' by dwelling upon 'the wanton destruction of human life,' as 'implying the existence of general oppression.' It states, that after this, 'no other proofs are necessary of the exercise of tyranny;' but if such were wanting, it refers to the treatment of the Adikar's family, as 'including every thing which is barbarous and unprincipled in public rule, and portraying the last stage of individual depravity and wickedness, the obliteration of every trace of conscience, and the complete extinction of human feeling;'— a passage which we cite, not certainly for its eloquence, but to

show how severely our oriental viceroys deal with fallen '*legitimacy.*' The paper then concludes with the following remarkable declaration.

'It is not, however, that, under an absolute government, unproved suspicion must usurp the place of fair trial, and the fiat of the ruler stand instead of the decision of justice; it is not that a rash, violent, or unjust decree, or a revolting mode of execution, is here brought to view, nor the innocent suffering under the groundless imputation of guilt; but a bold contempt of every principle of justice, setting at nought all known grounds of punishment, dispensing with the necessity of accusation, and choosing for its victims helpless females uncharged with any offence, and infants incapable of a crime.' p. 42, 43.

Then was issued that memorable proclamation in which our Government distinctly recognizes and adopts the principle of making sovereign princes accountable for their abuse of the high trust reposed in them. The words used in this solemn instrument, are as strong and as ample as can be conceived. The Cingalese King is *dethroned* for misgovernment; he is *cashiered* for offences committed against his subjects; he is *called to account* for his actions, and *punished* for abuse of his power. The following passages clearly and unceremoniously set forth the charges against him, and the sentence passed upon him, which, it may be observed, is one of the most sweeping forfeitures known in the records of judicial proceedings.

'It is agreed and established as follows:—1st, That the cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar Ruler, in the arbitrary and unjust infliction of bodily tortures, and the pains of death without trial, and sometimes without an accusation or the possibility of a crime, and in the general contempt and contravention of all civil rights, have become flagrant, enormous, and intolerable; the acts and maxims of his government being equally and entirely devoid of that justice which should secure the safety of his subjects, and of that good faith which might obtain a beneficial intercourse with the neighbouring settlements.

'2d, That the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, *by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title, or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from the office of King;* his family and relatives, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also for ever excluded from the throne; and all claim and title of the Malabar race to the dominion of the Kandian provinces is abolished and extinguished.

'3d, That all male persons being, or pretending to be, relations of the late Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, either by affinity or blood, and whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line,

are hereby declared enemies to the government of the Kandian Provinces, and excluded and prohibited from entering those provinces on any pretence whatever, without a written permission for that purpose by the authority of the British government, under the pains and penalties of martial law, which is hereby declared to be in force for that purpose; and all male persons of the Malabar cast, now expelled from the said provinces, are, under the same penalties, prohibited from returning, except with the permission before mentioned.' p. 68, 69.

Thus far all is plain enough, and the premises seem naturally to warrant the inference; but it does not appear so obvious a conclusion that the possession of the forfeited kingdom should be transferred to Great Britain. This *non-sequitur* is conveyed in the following terms.

'*4th*, The dominion of the Kandian Provinces is vested in the Sovereign of the British Empire, and to be exercised through the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of Ceylon for the time being, and their accredited agents; saving to the Adigars, Dessaves, Mohottales, Coraals, Vidaans, and all other chief and subordinate native Headmen, lawfully appointed by authority of the British government, the rights, privileges and powers of their respective offices, and to all classes of the people the safety of their persons and property, with their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions and customs established and in force amongst them.' p. 69, 70.

Then follow many excellent reforms, promulgated with no very sparing hand, and dictated by a moderate degree of veneration towards the wisdom of the Rajah's ancestors, and the remote antiquity of the Cingalese institutions.

Upon several parts of the narrative which we have just closed, remarks naturally arise very favourable to the conduct of the Officer at the head of the British settlement in Ceylon. He displayed great prudence and moderation throughout; he lost no advantage by precipitate measures; he acted with promptitude and decision when his opportunity came; and he showed a most laudable regard towards the safety of the inhabitants, against whose tyrant he was called upon to wage war. In the settlement of the conquest, he of course acted by instructions from the Government at home; and the principles upon which it proceeds, are liable to considerable comment. Are the fundamental doctrines of public morals, of political morality, in their nature local and temporary? Can that be just in the East, which, in Europe, we affect to abhor? Is hereditary right so sacred among ourselves, that we hold no misrule a sufficient justification for the smallest deviation from the order of succession, —while, in Asia, we deem it a just cause of dethroning a prince, that he has abused towards man a trust received, as we admit,

from God—and to exercise which, he has a right held by us indefeasible? Must we still deny, as a sort of first principle, and almost an article of faith, that European kings can be called to account for their deeds in this world, and ourselves accuse, and sentence and punish Indian monarchs for their misconduct?

But we are told, that the case of the Kandian Prince was an extreme one; and that his enormities were intolerable. We greatly fear that the only real difference is, that they were perpetrated beyond the Cape, the established limits of our political creed. For, after all, horrible as the atrocities of the monster were, it is pretty clear that they were very much in the ordinary course of things under Eastern despotisms, where subjects are beheaded and impaled at their rulers' caprice, as easily as they are banished in one European country, imprisoned in another, or confined to their estates in a third. The more severe practices are as much established by custom, by immemorial usage, and ancient royal right,—are as *constitutional*, and as much authozed by the royal *prerogative* in the East, as the milder forms of abuse and misgovernment are in the West. If we go to Kandy for the purpose of deposing Kings who misbehave beyond the limits of European toleration, we act in the character of reformers; we do not judge them by the principles of their own country and state of society, but by those which we carry with us from regions more enlightened and humane. It would puzzle any one, however, to find a defence for this interference, which should not also justify us in other acts of interposition nearer home. If the Spanish government, for example, exercises the most unjustifiable oppression over the patriots who fought by our side in restoring it to power, and still more, if it persists in despoiling the unoffending villages of Africa for the support of the accursed slave traffic; surely we have the same right to interfere in defence of humanity that we had to march to Kandy, because its King had oppressed his people. In a word, there cannot be any thing local or temporary in the great principles of political justice. Nor can the Sovereigns of Europe be admitted to hold their dominion by a title higher, more sacred, or more indefeasible than their brethren of the East.

Art. VIII. *The Lay of the Laureate. Carmen Nuptiale.* By Robert Southey, Esq., Poet-Laureate, &c. &c. 12mo. pp. 78. London, 1816.

A Poet-laureate, we take it, is naturally a ridiculous person; and has scarcely any safe course to follow, in times

like the present, but to bear his faculties with exceeding meekness, and to keep as much as possible in the shade. A stipendiary officer of the Royal household, bound to produce two lyrical compositions every year, in praise of his Majesty's person and government, is undoubtedly an object which it is difficult to contemplate with gravity; and which can only have been retained in existence, from that love of antique pomp and establishment which has embellished our Court with so many gold-sticks and white rods, and such trains of beef-eaters and grooms of the stole—though it has submitted to the suppression of the more sprightly appendages of a king's fool, or a court jester. That the household poet should have survived the other wits of the establishment, can only be explained by the circumstance of his office being more easily converted into one of mere pomp and ceremony, and coming thus to afford an antient and well-sounding name for a moderate sinecure. For more than a century, accordingly, it has existed on this footing: and its duties, like those of the other personages to whom we have just alluded, have been discharged with a decorous gravity and unobtrusive quietness, which has provoked no derision, merely because it has attracted no notice.

The present possessor, however, appears to have other notions on the subject; and has very distinctly manifested his resolution not to rest satisfied with the salary, sherry, and safe obscurity of his predecessors, but to claim a real power and prerogative in the world of letters, in virtue of his title and appointment. Now, in this, we conceive, with all due humility, that there is a little mistake of fact, and a little error of judgment. The laurel which the King gives, we are credibly informed, has nothing at all in common with that which is bestowed by the Muses; and the Prince Regent's warrant is absolutely of no authority in the court of Apollo. If this be the case, however, it follows, that a poet-laureate has no sort of precedency among poets,—whatever may be his place among pages and clerks of the kitchen;—and that he has no more pretensions as an author, than if his appointment had been to the mastership of the stag-hounds. When he takes state upon him with the public, therefore, in consequence of his office, he really is guilty of as ludicrous a blunder as the worthy American *Consul*, in one of the Hanse towns, who painted the Roman *fasces* on the pannel of his buggy, and insisted upon calling his footboy and clerk his *lictors*. Except when he is in his official duty, therefore, the King's house-poet would do well to keep the nature of his office out of sight; and, when he is compelled to appear in it in public, should try to get through with the business as quickly and quietly as possible. The brawney dray-

man who enacts the Champion of England in the Lord Mayor's show, is in some danger of being sneered at by the spectators, even when he paces along with the timidity and sobriety that becomes his condition; but if he were to take it into his head to make serious boast of his prowess, and to call upon the city bards to celebrate his heroic acts, the very apprentices could not restrain their laughter,—and 'the humorous man' would have but small chance of finishing his part in peace.

Mr Southey could not be ignorant of all this; and yet it appears that he could not have known it all. He must have been conscious, we think, of the ridicule attached to his office, and might have known that there were only two ways of counteracting it,—either by sinking the office altogether in his public appearances, or by writing such very good verses in the discharge of it, as might defy ridicule, and render neglect impossible. Instead of this, however, he has allowed himself to write rather worse than any Laureate before him, and has betaken himself to the luckless and vulgar expedient of endeavouring to face out the thing by an air of prodigious confidence and assumption:—and has had the usual fortune of such undertakers, by becoming only more conspicuously ridiculous. The badness of his official productions indeed is something really wonderful,—though not more so than the amazing self-complacency and self-praise with which they are given to the world. With the finest themes in the world for that sort of writing, they are the dullest, tamest, and most tedious things ever poor critic was condemned, or other people vainly invited, to read. They are a great deal more wearisome, and rather more unmeaning and unnatural, than the effusions of his predecessors Messrs Pye and Whitehead; and are moreover disfigured with the most abominable egotism, conceit and dogmatism, that we ever met with in any thing intended for the public eye. They are filled, indeed, with praises of the author himself, and his works, and his laurel, and his dispositions; notices of his various virtues and studies; puffs of the productions he is preparing for the press, and anticipations of the fame which he is to reap by their means, from a less ungrateful age; and all this delivered with such an oracular seriousness and assurance, that it is easy to see the worthy Laureate thinks himself entitled to share in the prerogatives of that royalty which he is bound to extol, and has resolved to make it

—'his great example as it is his theme.'

For, as sovereign Princes are permitted, in their manifestoes and proclamations, to speak of their own gracious pleasure and royal wisdom, without imputation of arrogance, so, our Laureate has persuaded himself that he may address the subject world

in the same lofty strains, and that they will listen with as dutiful an awe to the authoritative exposition of his own genius and glory. What might have been the success of the experiment, if the execution had been as masterly as the design is bold, we shall not trouble ourselves to conjecture; but the contrast between the greatness of the praise and the badness of the poetry in which it is conveyed, and to which it is partly applied, is abundantly decisive of its result in the present instance, as well as in all the others in which the ingenious author has adopted the same style. We took some notice of the *Carmen Triumphale*, which stood at the head of the series. But of the Odes which afterwards followed to the Prince Regent, and the Sovereigns and Generals who came to visit him, we had the charity to say nothing; and were willing indeed to hope, that the lamentable failure of that attempt might admonish the author, at least as effectually as any intimations of ours. Here, however, we have him again, with a *Lay of the Laureate*, and a *Carmen Nuptiale*, if possible still more boastful and more dull than any of his other celebrations. It is necessary, therefore, to bring the case once more before the Public, for the sake both of correction and example; and as the work is not likely to find many readers, and is of a tenor which would not be readily believed upon any general representation, we must now beg leave to give a faithful analysis of its different parts, with a few specimens of the taste and manner of its execution.

Its object is to commemorate the late auspicious marriage of the presumptive Heiress of the English crown with the young Prince of Saxe-Cobourg; and consists of a Proem, a Dream, and an Epilogue—with a L'envoy, and various annotations. The Proem, as was most fitting, is entirely devoted to the praise of the Laureate himself; and contains an account, which cannot fail to be very interesting, both to his Royal auditors and to the world at large, of his early studies and attainments—the excellence of his genius—the nobleness of his views—and the happiness that has been the result of these precious gifts. Then there is mention made of his pleasure in being appointed Poet-Laureate, and of the rage and envy which that event excited in all the habitations of the malignant. This is naturally followed up by a full account of all his official productions, and some modest doubts whether his genius is not too heroic and pathetic for the composition of an *Epithalamium*,—which doubts, however, are speedily and pleasingly resolved by the recollection, that as Spenser made a hymn on his own marriage, so, there can be nothing improper in Mr Southey doing as much on that of the Princess Charlotte. This is the general argument of the Proem. But the reader must know a little more of the details.

In his early youth, the ingenious author says he aspired to the fame of a poet; and then Fancy came to him, and showed him the glories of his future career, addressing him in these encouraging words—

> 'Thou whom rich Nature at thy happy birth
> Blest in her bounty with the largest dower
> That Heaven indulges to a child of earth'!

Being fully persuaded of the truth of her statements, we have then the satisfaction of learning that he has lived a very happy life; and that, though time has made his hair a little grey, it has only matured his understanding; and that he is still as habitually cheerful as when he was a boy. He then proceeds to inform us, that he sometimes does a little in poetry still; but that, of late years, he spends most of his time in writing histories—from which he has no doubt that he will one day or another acquire great reputation.

> 'Thus in the ages which are past I live,
> And those which are to come my sure reward will give.'

Part of his reward, indeed, he says he has got already,—for all the good and wise love and admire him; and moreover,

> 'That green wreath which decks the Bard when dead,
> That laureate garland crowns my living head.'

He then goes on to tell, that he has hitherto worn the said laurel with great honour, and has by no means made a sinecure of the situation—having indited a great variety of official odes since his appointment, the subjects and merits of which are accordingly explained in several sounding stanzas. The enumeration is closed with this strain of ingenuous modesty.

> 'Such strains beseemed me well. But how shall I
> To hymeneal numbers tune the string,' &c.
> 'Fitter for me the lofty strain severe,
> That calls for vengeance for mankind opprest;
> Fitter the songs that youth may love to hear.' &c. &c.

However, he bethinks him of Spenser, as we have already mentioned; and comforts himself after this fashion—

> 'And hast not thou, my Soul, a solemn theme?
> I said—and mused until I fell into a dream.'

We come next, of course, to the Dream; and nothing more stupid or heavy, we will venture to say, ever arose out of sleep, or tended to sleep again. The unhappy Laureate, it seems, just saw, upon shutting his eyes, what he might have seen as well if he had been able to keep them open—a great crowd of people and coaches in the street, with marriage favours in their bosoms; church bells ringing merrily, and *feux-de-joie* firing in all directions. Eftsoons, says the dreaming poet, I came to a great door, where there were guards placed to keep off the mob;

but when they saw my Laurel crown, they made way for me, and let me in!—

> ' But I had entrance through that guarded door,
> In honour to the Laureate crown I wore. '

When he gets in, he finds himself in a large hall, decorated with trophies, and pictures, and statues, commemorating the triumphs of British valour, from Aboukir to Waterloo. The room, moreover, was filled with a great number of ladies and gentlemen very finely dressed; and in two chairs, near the top, were seated the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold. Hitherto, certainly, all is sufficiently plain and probable;—nor can the Muse who dictated this to the slumbering Laureate be accused of any very extravagant or profuse invention. We come now, however, to allegory and learning in abundance. In the first place, we are told, with infinite regard to the probability as well as the novelty of the fiction, that in this drawing-room there were two great lions couching at the feet of the Royal Pair;—the Prince's being very lean and in poor condition, with the hair rubbed off his neck as if from a heavy collar—and the Princess's in full vigour, with a bushy mane, and littered with torn French flags. Then there were two heavenly figures stationed on each side of the throne, one called Honour, and the other Faith;—so very like each other, that it was impossible not to suppose them brother and sister. It turns out, however, that they were only second cousins; or so at least we interpret the following precious piece of theogony.

> ' Akin they were,—yet not as thus it seemed,
> For he of VALOUR was the eldest son,
> From Areté in happy union sprung.
> But her to Phronis Eusebeia bore,
> She whom her mother Dicé sent to earth;
> What marvel then if thus their features wore
> Resemblant lineaments of kindred birth?
> Dicé being child of Him who rules above,
> VALOUR his earth-born son; so both derived from Jove.' p. 29.

This, we think, is delicious; but there is still more goodly stuff toward. The two heavenly cousins stand still without doing any thing; but then there is a sound of sweet music, and a whole ' heavenly company ' appear, led on by a majestic female, whom we discover, by the emblems on our halfpence, to be no less a person than Britannia, who advances and addresses a long discourse of flattery and admonition to the Royal bride; which, for the most part, is as dull and commonplace as might be expected from the occasion; though there are some passages in which the author has reconciled his gratitude to his Patron, and his monitory duty to his Daughter, with singular spirit and delicacy. After enjoining to her the observance of all public du-

ties, and the cultivation of all domestic virtues, Britannia is made to sum up the whole sermon in this emphatic precept—

'Look to thy Sire, and in his steady way
——learn thou to tread.'

Now, considering that Mr Southey was at all events incapable of sacrificing truth to Court favour, it cannot but be regarded as a rare felicity in his subject, that he could thus select a pattern of private purity and public honour in the person of the actual Sovereign, without incurring the least suspicion either of base adulation or lax morality.

When Britannia has delivered her lecture, she is succeeded by another venerable personage, whose lineage and office are thus loftily described by the sleeping Laureate.

'Of Kronos and the Nymph Mnemosyné
He sprung, on either side a birth divine;
Thus to the Olympian Gods allied was he,
And brother to the sacred Sisters nine.
They called him Praxis in the Olympian tongue,
But here on earth EXPERIENCE was his name.' p. 35.

This Praxis, it seems, is a bookmaker by profession, like the Laureate himself; and contents himself, accordingly, with depositing a presentation copy of his work before the Royal Pair, and only pronouncing, after the manner of the said Laureate, a long eulogium on its beauty and use.

To this succeeds a most clumsy apparition of 'the Angel of the Church of England,' attended by a considerable party of Saints and Martyrs,—who also pays his compliments to the Princess, and entreats her, in plain and distinct terms, to take care of the English Church, and preserve it from decay;—for which purpose, he is pleased to add, Providence had on former occasions, and

'In perilous times, provided female means,
Blessing it beneath the rule of pious Queens.'

It is another proof of Mr Southey's singular liberality, and disdain of courtly prejudices, that he has been at pains, at such a moment as the present, to profess his utter abhorrence and detestation of the Catholic religion, and made his Lutheran angel warn the young Princess against any toleration of its monstrous abominations. 'Think not,' says he—

'Think not that lapse of ages shall abate
The inveterate malice of that Harlot old, &c.
For her fierce Beast, whose names are Blasphemy,
The same that was, is still, and still must be.'

After the Church party have taken their leaves, another celestial monitor advances, who, though he is not directly named

by the author, appears very plainly by his discourse to be none other than the angel of the British School Society. He makes a still better speech than his brother of the Church of England, and recommends the interests of education to the Royal Pair, in several very moving, though rather tedious stanzas,—which terminate in the following harmonious distich—

'The heart of man is rich in all good seeds;
Neglected, it is choked with tares and noxious weeds.'

We are next recreated with the presentation of Hope and Charity, who seem upon this occasion to sustain the character of the angels of the Missionary and Bible Societies, and exhort the Princess to spare no pains for the conversion of the Heathen. Speranza is the prolocutor, and ends her address, by repeating these two lines in small capitals.

'THY KINGDOM COME! THY WILL BE DONE, O LORD!
AND BE THY HOLY NAME THROUGH ALL THE WORLD ADORED!'

—at which words the roof of the drawing-room opens, and a bright Cross is seen far up in the sky. The poet shuts his eyes on the splendour; and, on opening them again, sees the last of the allegorical company,—a dim, dreary looking figure, but with 'divinest beauty in his awful face.' He makes his compliment and speech like the rest; and the Dream ends with his last words, in which he announces to the bridal party—

'My name is DEATH—the last best friend am I.'

The Epilogue need not detain us very long.—It consists almost entirely of an apology for, or rather a zealous encomium on the flat stupidities of that part we have now hastily gone over. The poet ingeniously supposes that some frivolous reader may say

'Are these fit strains for Royal ears to hear?'

and sets himself accordingly to show that they are the fittest and the worthiest, and the most precious that could possibly have been employed on the occasion. We have not patience to go over the dull prosing of this panegyric on his own genius and judgment. He has touched indeed, he confesses, upon awful subjects—

'Yet surely are they such as, viewed aright,
Contentment to thy better mind may bring.'

Lighter themes, he candidly admits, might have been more amusing—but then their delights would soon wither like spring flowers;—whereas his sublime strains are evergreens, and moreover of sovereign virtue—

'Yea, while the Poet's name is doomed to live,
So long this garland shall its fragrance give.'

—and so on in the same vein of high poetry and lowly modesty, through some dozen stanzas.—The work ends with one entitled,

'L'Envoy'—which breathes the very soul of silliness and self-complacency.

'Go, little Book, from this my solitude, . .
I cast thee on the waters: . . go thy ways!
And if, as I believe, thy vein be good,
The world will find thee after many days.
Be it with thee according to thy worth: . .
Go, little Book! in faith I send thee forth.' p. 69.

It is impossible to feel any serious or general contempt for a person of Mr Southey's genius;—and, in reviewing his other works, we hope we have shown a proper sense of his many merits and accomplishments. But his Laureate odes are utterly and intolerably bad; and, if he had never written any thing else, must have ranked him below Colley Cibber in genius, and above him in conceit and presumption. We have no toleration for this sort of perversity, or prostitution of great gifts; and do not think it necessary to qualify the expression of opinions which we have formed with as much positiveness as deliberation.—We earnestly wish he would resign his livery laurel to Lord Thurlow, and write no more odes on Court galas. We can assure him too, most sincerely, that this wish is not dictated in any degree by envy, or any other hostile or selfish feeling. We are ourselves, it is but too well known, altogether without pretensions to that high office—and really see no great charms either in the salary or the connexion—and, for the glory of writing such verses as we have now been reviewing, we do not believe that there is a scribbler in the kingdom so vile as to think it a thing to be coveted.

ART. IX. *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Slavery of the Christians at Algiers.* By WALTER CROKER, Esq. of the Royal Navy. London, Stockdale. 1816.

WE rejoice very sincerely in observing the disposition at length evinced by the Legislature, to urge the government towards the performance of a duty imperative upon this country, if all regard to character and consistency has not departed from among us. The discussion which took place at the close of last Session, upon Mr Brougham's motion, clearly evinces, that the day is not far distant, when the ignominious license, too long indulged to the Barbary Pirates, will be numbered, with the Slave Trade, among those monstrous departures from publick justice and policy, to which nothing but length of time could ever have reconciled the feelings of men, and in

the existence of which it will be difficult for them to believe, after they have once awakened to a sense of duty, and looked back, at the distance of but a few years, to the disgraceful usage of past centuries.

Already, indeed, it is little less than incredible, that the civilized nations of Europe should so long have endured the piracy of those bloody and despicable Barbarians, who ravage the fairest coasts of its southern regions, and daily commit with impunity outrages, the least of which, if offered once in twenty years, by one great power to another, must have proved the cause of instant war, and only been repaired by a prodigious waste of blood and treasure, almost all over the civilized world. The law of nations has seemed hitherto to visit with its penalties only the more rare and trivial breaches of its enactments; while, towards the constant perpetration of the blackest crimes in the catalogue, it has held forth the sure encouragement of a previous pardon,—not by connivance, for it took notice of the offences,—but exhibiting the mock figure of perverted Justice, with her eyes open, her balance reversed, and her sword flung away.

It is scarcely possible to account for this anomaly. If we say that the law of nations is a Christian code, and has no sway over Infidels, the fact refutes us presently; for we maintain all the usual relations of political intercourse with the Turk; nay, we have consuls and vice-consuls in the dominions of the piratical States themselves. If it be pretended that the Barbarians never came into our notions of right, and have in all ages exercised the trade of spoliation; the answer is, that, beyond all memory, it has been the universal practice of nations to regard pirates as enemies of the human race, and to inflict summary punishment upon them whensoever they were caught; so that the right of the one party to punish, rests on the same prescriptive title behind which the other shelters his offending. If, again, an exception be alleged, by suggesting that the Corsairs are not lawless pirates, but vessels bearing a national flag, and recognized by their own government, which authorizes their proceedings; then we reply, that this only shifts the crime from the agent to the principal, or rather gives us a right to visit with punishment both the subject and the power which protects him. But we are wasting time in contending with such fanciful arguments. The true reason of that forbearance so long shown towards the Robbers, has been the mutual jealousy of the powers who should have united to extirpate them. There was always some notion of interest, either present or expected; some preposterous and shameful project of turning the friendship of the Barbarians to account, in a quarrel or a

rivalry with a civilized neighbour; some pitiful shopkeeper's calculation, that their traffic might yield exclusive advantages,—or some yet more contemptible speculation, that their hostility might be pointed against a competitor for power. If the archives of European diplomacy could be ransacked by some person of patience more than human, and of a perverted taste for the study of elaborate trifling mingled with infatuation and misconduct in great concerns, high among the monuments of incredible folly and wickedness, we will venture to say, would stand the despatches touching Algerine affairs. We make no doubt that, but a few years ago, would be found 'MOST SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL' letters, reckoning upon the assistance of his Highness the Dey in provisioning a fleet or a garrison, and stating to '*your Lordship*' the gratifying assurances of his continued good dispositions towards '*His Majesty*,' and his hostility towards '*the persons at present exercising the government of France.*' Indeed, the common belief in the Mediterranean is, that we rather encourage the piracy of these freebooters, for the purpose of opposing the commerce of other nations;—a most false charge undoubtedly in this extent, but so far founded in truth, that we might, by a word, have put them down long ago, and that we have always for one reason or another abstained from exerting our lawful means of destroying them.

At the present moment there is an end, for some time, of the deadly feuds which have so long disfigured the face of civilized society. It seems, therefore, to be the fittest period that could be imagined for redeeming our character, and rescuing all Christendom from the imputations which have so long lain upon it, of never waging war under the banners of the Cross, unless where cruelty or plunder were the objects, and fanaticism the cloak of the enterprize. The information contained in Mr Croker's letter, meagre as it is, suffices to augment the just and generous feelings which naturally impel every thinking mind towards such a purpose as soon as the subject is mentioned.

This officer was sent to Algiers upon service, in the command of a sloop of war attached to the Mediterranean squadron, in July 1815; and having thus had an opportunity of witnessing something of the interior of that piratical state, he tells us plainly and distinctly what he saw, with feelings of honest indignation. While he was there, a large body of Christian slaves were brought from the port of Bona; and he learnt, from the concurrent testimony of all the Consuls, the history of those wretched sufferers. They were the survivers of 357 captured by two Algerine corsairs, carrying English colours for the purpose of decoying their victims within their reach. They had been 'driven

like a herd of cattle' a journey of many days, and fifty-nine had died of misery during that time. One unhappy youth fell dead at the Dey's feet, while they were undergoing the usual ceremony of presentation. In the first six days after their arrival, nearly seventy more perished miserably. This is a mortality greatly exceeding that of the middle passage and seasoning in the worst periods of the African Slave Trade. Mr Croker saw the wretched survivers driven out in the morning 'promiscuously with the mules' to the public quarries, where they were worked together. He inquired the history of many of them, and was told that they had been captured while under the protection of English passports, and employed in purchasing grain for our armies. Another instance is added of the same kind.

'When the island of Ponza was added to the conquests of His Majesty's arms, the great addition of the English garrison, and our squadron, occasioned considerable anxiety for the means of maintenance of the inhabitants themselves, as well as of the necessary refreshments and supplies for their new masters and benefactors, as they called us. It was also a consideration of such moment to the commanding officer of our forces, that he encouraged the spirit of commerce, which had already shown itself in the natives, by requesting English passports to different places, for grain, for the use of the island. These passports were not only willingly granted, but an intended support was also given them; namely, a permission to wear the British flag.

'Some of these poor unfortunate men, returning from one of their little enterprizes, were, within sight of their own island, boarded by six boats belonging to two Algerine pirates;—the colours which they vainly looked to for protection, were, by these assailants, torn in pieces and cast into the sea, and the unhappy crew were dragged to slavery. Such was the fate of poor Vicenza Avelino, and his unoffending crew of eleven or twelve men, who surely were as much entitled to English protection as the inhabitants of any other island which wore the English colours!

'You will judge what an English officer's feelings must have been, when surrounded by these miserable men, who, with tears, inquired, *If England knew their fate?* or if they were to expect *any mercy* from our all-powerful nation?

'I own, I cannot but wish that some of those English gentlemen, who travel in search of pleasure in the Mediterranean, would pay Algiers a visit, even for one week; I am sure they could not fail to feel, like me, the degradation to which the Christian name is exposed, and to endeavour, on their return home, to exert their abilities and influence in a cause which no one doubts to be meritorious; but which actual inspection would make every man feel to be a solemn, religious, and moral duty.

'I should add, that on the arrival of these new slaves, our Consul sent his interpreter to the bani and hospital, to find out if any of

them had claims on the English protection. The Infidels would not permit him to enter either place. All I have told you, and ten times more, will be confirmed by your taking the trouble to inquire into it; and there are two gentlemen, who will attend *in person*, if it be necessary.' p. 8, 9.

Our own Consul, it seems, used all his influence to procure their release, but without effect; and Mr Croker tells us that his influence is greater than that of any other Consul, for it 'extends to being able to avoid insult to his person and house, and barely that.'—The Danish Consul was taken to the *Bani*, or Slave prison, and kept in irons until his government paid some tributary debt. The Swedes are compelled to furnish artists for their gunpowder works; and the Spanish Vice-Consul at Oran, our author himself saw working in heavy irons, with the other slaves. He adds, that he was told by a French shipbuilder, that he had been sent by his government to assist in building their navy; a charge against Buonaparte which, if true, throws many of his other enormities into the shade, and must for ever stop the mouths of his adherents in their invectives against England, for employing Blood-hounds in Jamaica, and Indians in North America. The last fact of this kind which we shall cite from Mr Croker is, that the captain and crew of a Gibraltar trader, English subjects, were in irons and slavery, while he was at Algiers, although our Consul had repeatedly offered the proofs of their belonging to his nation.

The following description of the treatment of the miserable slaves, is a more eloquent exhortation to adopt *at length* the policy which honour, as well as prudence dictates, than the most elaborate argument we could frame.

'The bani, or bagnio, is in one of the narrow streets of Algiers, has nothing remarkable in its outside appearance; but, inside, *it is the most remarkable house of misery* imagination can conceive. On entering the gate, there is a small square yard for the slaves to walk about in; there they are, on every Friday, locked up, and, as they do not work on that day, they are allowed nothing but water from the Algerine government. We then ascended a stone stair-case, and, round the galleries, were rooms with *naked earthen floors* and *damp stone walls*. They have an iron grated window and a strong door; two of these rooms have, in each of them, twenty-four things, like cot frames, with twigs interwoven in the middle.—These are hung up, one above another, round the room, and those slaves, who are able to pay *for the luxury of such a bed*, are alone admitted.

'I am happy in wanting a comparison, in any part of the world where I have been, for this abominable prison, and those deadly cells; but, if they had a little more light, I think they would most

resemble a house where *the negroes of the West India Islands keep their pigs.* I must add, that the pestilential smell made Mr Stanburg so ill that he nearly fainted; and Doctor M'Connell and myself were not much less affected.

'The food of the slaves consists of two black loaves of half a pound each, which are *their daily bread*; neither meat nor vegetables do they ever taste, those excepted who work at the Marino, who get *ten olives* per day with their bread, and others in the Spanish hospital, which the Spanish government to this day supports, as well perhaps as it is able. In visiting this hospital, the floors of which were covered with unhappy beings of every age and either sex, I saw some men who looked almost sixty, and some children who could not be more than eight years old; the whole of them had their legs swelled and cut in such a horrid manner, that we all thought they could not recover. There also we saw some young Sicilian girls, and some women. One poor woman burst into tears; told us that she was the mother of eight children, and desired us to look at six of them, who had been slaves with her for thirteen years. We left these scenes of horror, and, in going into the country, I met the slaves returning from their labour. The clang of the chains of those who were heavily ironed, called my attention to their extreme fatigue and dejection: they were attended by Infidels with large whips.' p. 11–13.

The ravages of these detestable pirates are chiefly committed upon the vessels of the weaker powers, and upon the defenceless coasts of Sicily, Sardinia, Calabria, and the eastern side of Italy: but no ports of the Mediterranean shores, except France, are free from their incursions. When they venture to seize an English or French ship, they butcher the whole crew, to avoid the detection which must ensue from their prisoners being examined by the Consuls. But when they capture the vessels of weaker states, they lead the crews into the hopeless bondage which we have been contemplating, unless indeed that the late treaty with Naples and Sardinia, concluded under our sanction, must expose the crews of their ships to the same fate with those of England and France. But the worst vengeance of those Barbarians is reserved for the coasts. They land on any exposed point, and fall upon the defenceless houses and villages, burning and destroying every thing they cannot take away, and carrying off the whole inhabitants, even children at the breast. The terror in which those people live who are thus exposed, can hardly be imagined. There are whole ranges of coast where no house is to be seen from the sea; and, in many places, a Martello tower and ditch are regular parts of a nobleman's villa. The promise to clear the sea of the pirates, used to be one of the great engines of English influence in the Italian courts.

Our long forbearance has of late mightily injured our character in those countries; and the treaty just now alluded to, and which formed the subject of Mr Brougham's motion, has still further contributed to place our conduct in a light disadvantageous to our reputation.

The treaties not having been laid before the public, it is impossible to state in detail what have been the proceedings of Government; but it was admitted in the late discussion, that our Admiral had assisted in concluding a bargain with the pirates, by which the Neapolitan slaves were ransomed at about fifty pounds a head, and the Sardinians at something less; and the piratical court stipulated, for a further yearly sum, to capture no vessels belonging to either of those two powers, without a regular declaration of war. Now, to what does the sanction, if not the actual negociation, of such treaties by England, amount? Most certainly to an indirect sanction of the outrages by which the wretched captives were taken; but if we admit that there was some inducement rather to negotiate than to compel their liberation, in order to avoid the risk they might have run of being massacred during our military operations against the Dey in their behalf, still the worst part of the arrangement remains undefended; it is a tacit permission given by England to whatever depredations the Barbarians may commit upon all the vessels and coasts not protected by the treaties; that is, upon every country which has not paid tribute for an exemption from lawless violence. In what other light can the affair be viewed by the rest of Europe? Is it not evident that every nation which continues subject to the piracies of the Corsairs, will charge us both with having left it unprotected, and with having authorized the claim of the robbers to obtain a price for their forbearance? But the robbers themselves will doubtless view it in the same light; they will act as if they had the countenance of the English government in their outrages, and will, at the very least, consider themselves as permitted by us to plunder every one who cannot or will not pay for their indemnity. We say, at the very least; for there is no reason to expect that these savage marauders will be satisfied with extending the arrangement recently made to all other nations. It is far more likely that they begrudge the loss of a part of their field of plunder, and will not consent to restrict it further. In all probability they have been induced to allow the limitation now imposed, as much for the sake of the authority which our interposition gives to their remaining depredations, as for the gain immediately derived from the bargain. At all events, there can be no doubt that, excluded from one part of the Mediter-

ranean shores, they will concentrate their forces, and pour them upon the coasts which remain unprotected by any stipulation; so that the fair fields of Tuscany and the Roman territory will pay for the exemption purchased by Sardinia and Naples. This, at least, is the universal expectation in those countries; and the character of the English nation is lowered in their estimation accordingly. In the late discussion, a fact transpired which must excite the most bitter sentiments of shame in every lover of his country. Lord Cochrane stated, that he had himself, three or four years ago, the humiliating duty assigned to him, of carrying to the Dey of Algiers rich presents from our Government; and a rumour was mentioned as prevailing in the Mediterranean, that a letter had been written to that Chief pirate, by the highest authority in the country; nor was any contradiction whatever given by the ministers to this assertion. Transactions so degrading, we verily believe, will never again tarnish the high fame of England in the eyes of mankind, now that the effectual remedy has been applied, by making the whole subject a matter of Parliamentary inquiry and public discussion.

It may be demanded then, towards what line of conduct our inferences point? We think clearly to this; that no treaty ought ever again to be made, involving a payment of tribute, although a ransom of slaves already captured may, perhaps, through tenderness towards their sufferings, be allowed. But that future outrages should plainly be prevented, not by armed force, not by negociation; and that the severest vengeance should be inflicted on the robbers the very first time they attack a vessel or a village belonging to any power not formally at war with them. This is the least which the law of nations allows us to do. But an immediate attack upon the nest of the pirates, upon Algiers itself, seems the most fit step to be taken; and will be justified by the very first act of violence which they shall commit. One of the evil effects of these inauspicious conventions is, that they prevent us from proceeding against the place until some such act of violence is perpetrated with the connivance of the Dey's government.

The safety and facility of an enterprize against the pirates, can admit of no doubt. Mr Croker explicitly states the works of Algiers to be a mere bugbear; and the force of the whole state to be trifling in the extreme. They are now at war with the Tunisians, who set them at defiance; and the tribes of Arabs in the immediate vicinity of the city, hold the power of the Dey in equal contempt, levying contributions on his subjects within sight of his walls. The officer alluded to above, asserted distinctly in the House of Commons, that two sail of the line would

at once put an end to the intolerable nuisance which we call the Algerine Government, and that without any risk whatever of failure. It is further to be remembered, that this government means only a band of three or four thousand Turkish Janisaries, who tyrannize over the native Algerines as much as over the the Christians who fall into their hands; who chuse the Dey out of their own body; and are so far from submitting to any regular or hereditary authority, that the present Chief's sons serve as common soldiers in the corps from which he himself was taken. To put down this execrable dynasty, would be fully as great a blessing to its own subjects, as to those of the neighbouring States.

In justification of such a measure, we trust that enough has already been urged. A few words only are required to show, that, without gross inconsistency, we cannot neglect this duty. We stood foremost among the champions of Africa, and opposers of the slave trade. But the miseries endured by the unhappy negroes are not greater than those of the Italians, Greeks and Spaniards, whose lot has been depicted in the course of these pages. Indeed, the slave trade of the Africans in the Mediterranean is considerably worse than that of the Europeans in the Atlantic; worse at least in its kind, though much less extensive. A moment's reflection may convince any one of this; for in the former case, the oppressor is the barbarian, and a barbarian of the most savage and unprincipled caste; whereas, in the latter, with all its horrors, we must at least admit, that the sufferings of the slave are lighter, both because his master is more civilized, and because subjection is less severe to those who are less enlightened. While we are not even satisfied with doing all we can to prevent our own people from trading in African slaves, but are most righteously sounding the cry against this accursed traffic, in every tongue and in every clime, it is a prodigious inconsistency to permit the Africans to carry on a worse commerce in the blood of Europeans, and of those who have never bought or sold a single negro from the beginning of time. Against this abomination, our whole force should be bent, if necessary; but when a single blow could annihilate it, and we have only to obtain the consent of other nations whom we do not require to cooperate with us, what excuse can be imagined for our neither stirring ourselves, nor moving them in the cause? There is something monstrous in this departure from our own principles, and from the example set by us elsewhere, not only in the West, but in the recent deposition of the Kandian Tyrant.

ART. X. *The City of the Plague, and other Poems.* By JOHN WILSON. Author of the Isle of Palms, &c. 8vo. pp. 300. Edinburgh, 1816.

WE have often thought it unnatural to say, or to think, any thing harsh of the innocent and irritable race of poets. Most other writers are apt, in a thousand ways, to excite our spleen, and mortify our vanity,—by pretending to instruct our ignorance, to refute our errors, or to expose our prejudices. They offend us, in short, by assuming a superiority over us, and either disturbing our favourite notions, or at least showing us how much we have still to learn. The poet alone has none of this polemic and offensive spirit. His sole business is to give pleasure, and to gain praise from all descriptions of men. He contradicts nobody, and refutes nothing; but puts himself to a great deal of trouble for the sole purpose of raising delightful emotions in the breasts of his readers;—and asks no other reward than that inward gratitude and approbation which, in such circumstances, it must be still more blessed to give than to receive. He is naturally to be regarded, therefore, as a benefactor to mankind—at least in purpose and design; and we really think that he generally is so in fact and reality also: For though the degrees of pleasure which they afford are infinitely various, and usually bear no proportion either to the pains they have taken, or the opinion they entertain of their success, we think there are few poets (of course we do not speak of mere versemongers), from a candid perusal of whose works all who have any true relish for poetry may not derive a sensible gratification, or who may not be regarded as having added something to the stores of our most refined and ennobling enjoyments. For our own parts, therefore, we confess that we are inclined to look on the whole tribe not only with indulgence, but with gratitude; and that we have often been indebted for very considerable gratification to works which we should be somewhat ashamed to praise, and not very proud of having written—works too humble, or too full of faults, to be tolerated by critical readers, or recommended with safety to such as are not critical.

But though we generally endeavour to *read* poetry in this indulgent humour, we cannot always afford to criticize it in the same amiable spirit—and that for reasons which we have explained, we believe, on some former occasion. Yet we are inclined to hope that, even in the discharge of this stern duty, it would not be difficult for an intelligent reader to trace the ha-

bitual operation of the same lenient principles which we have now been endeavouring to recommend;—and, hardly as we have been accused of dealing with some poetical adventurers, we flatter ourselves that we have always manifested the greatest tenderness and consideration for the whole tuneful brotherhood. There are some faults, indeed, to which we have found it impossible to show any mercy: But to all those errors that arise out of the poetical temperament, or are at least consistent with its higher attributes, we venture to assert, that we have been uniformly indulgent in a very remarkable degree—and have shown more favour than any critics ever did before us to extravagance and exaggeration, when springing from a genuine enthusiasm—to redundant or misplaced description, when arising out of a true love of nature or of art,—and even to a little sickliness or weakness of sentiment, whenever it could be traced to an unaffected kindness of heart, or tenderness of fancy.

There are faults, however, as we have already hinted, incident to this branch of literature, for which we have little toleration; but we cannot think that our severity towards them should be construed into any want of indulgence to poets in general, since they are all of a kind that can only affect those who have a genuine veneration for the poetical character, and consist chiefly of apparent violations of its dignity and honour. Among the first and most usual, we might mention the indications of great conceit and self-admiration, when united with ordinary talents. Excellence in poetry is so high and so rare an excellence, as not only to eclipse, but to appear contrasted with all moderate degrees of merit. It has a tone and a language of its own, therefore, which it is mere impertinence in ordinary mortals to usurp; and when a writer of slender endowments assumes that which is only allowed to the highest, he not only makes his defects more conspicuous, by exposing them to such overwhelming comparisons, but provokes and disgusts us by the manifest folly and vanity of his pretensions—which unlucky qualities come naturally to strike us as the most prominent and characteristic of his works, and effectually indispose us towards any trifling though real merits they may happen to possess. Another and a more intolerable fault, as more frequently attaching to superior talents, is that perversity or affectation which leads an author to distort or disfigure his compositions, either by a silly ambition of singularity, an unfortunate attempt to combine qualities that are truly irreconcileable, or an absurd predilection for some fantastic style or manner, in which no one but himself can perceive any fitness or beauty. In such cases, we are not merely offended by the positive deformities which are thus pro-

duced, but by the feeling that they are produced wilfully and with much effort, and by the humiliating spectacle they afford of the existence of paltry prejudices and despicable vanities in minds which we naturally love to consider as the dwellingplace of noble sentiments and enchanting contemplations. Akin to this source of displeasure, but of a more aggravated description, is that which arises from the visible indication of any great moral defect in those highly gifted spirits, whose natural office it seems to be, to purify and exalt the conceptions of ordinary men, by images more lofty and refined than can be suggested by the coarse realities of existence. We do not here allude so much to the loose and luxurious descriptions of love and pleasure which may be found in the works of some great masters, as to the traces of those meaner and more malignant vices which appear still more inconsistent with the poetical character—the traces of paltry jealousy and envy of rival genius—of base servility and adulation to power or riches—of party profligacy or personal spite or rancour—and all the other low and unworthy passions which excite a mingled feeling of loathing and contempt, and not only untune the mind for all fine or exalted contemplations, but at once disenchant all the fairy scenes whose creation must be referred to the agency of spirits so degraded.

Except when our bile is stirred by the display of such infirmities as these, we look upon ourselves as very indulgent judges of poetry; and believe we have, upon the whole, incurred the displeasure of the judicious much oftener by an excessive lenity, than by any undue measure of severity—for our rash and unqualified praises, than for our intemperate or embittered censures. In spite of all we have heard upon this subject, however, we still incline to adhere to our former system, and, to say the truth, are much more frequently disposed to repent us of our severities, than of our indulgence,—as it is the nature of all angry feelings to be short-lived, and is, at all events, so much more agreeable to contemplate what is beautiful than what is offensive.

We do not know very well how we have been led into this long encomium on our own gentleness—unless it be that we are conscious of being more pleased with the volume before us than we feel any assurance that our readers will be.—There is something extremely amiable, at all events, in the character of Mr Wilson's genius:—a constant glow of kind and of pure affection—a great sensibility to the charms of external nature, and the delights of a private, innocent, and contemplative life—a fancy richly stored with images of natural beauty and simple enjoyments—great tenderness and pathos in the representation of suf-

ferings and sorrow, though almost always calmed, and even brightened, by the healing influences of pitying love, confiding piety, and conscious innocence. Almost the only passions with which his poetry is conversant, are the gentler sympathies of our nature—tender compassion—confiding affection, and guiltless sorrow. From all this there results, along with a most touching and tranquillizing sweetness, a certain monotony and languor, which, to those who read poetry for amusement merely, will be apt to appear like dullness, and must be felt as a defect by all who have been used to the variety, rapidity, and energy of the more popular poetry of the day. The poetry before us, on the other hand, is almost entirely contemplative or descriptive. There is little incident, and no conflict of passion or opposition of character.—The interest is that of love or of pity alone: there is no entanglement of situation, no opposition of interests—no struggle of discordant feelings. There is not even any delineation of guilt, or any scene of vengeance, resentment, or other stormy passion. The effect of the piece, at least, never depends upon such elements. The author seems to have written just to embody the scenes and characters on which he had most pleasure in dwelling—and his chief art consists in fixing his eye intently upon them—and drawing them with the truth, the force, the fondness and the fullness of complete portraits of beloved objects. In pursuing this pleasing occupation, he was not likely to become so soon wearied as the comparatively indifferent spectators in whose eye he was working;—and from this has resulted another fault—the excessive diffuseness and oppressive fulness of most of his pictures and details—which has inevitably led to occasional weakness in the diction, and a want of brilliancy and effect in the colouring of the style. Still, however, there is a charm about the work, to which it would be unfortunate, we think, to be insensible—a certain pastoral purity, joined with deeper feelings, and more solemn and impressive images than belong to pastoral—and reflecting, if not the more agitated and deeply shaded scenes of adventurous life, an enchanting image of peace, purity, and tenderness, which, we hope, is not more unlike the ordinary tenor of actual existence.

The most important piece in the present volume, is a dramatic poem entitled, ' The City of the Plague, '—by which is meant London, during the great sickness of 1666. Most of our readers are probably familiar with De Foe's history of that great calamity—a work in which fabulous incidents and circumstances are combined with authentic narratives, with an art and a verisimilitude which no other writer has ever been able to communicate to fiction. A great part of Mr Wilson's materials, and

indeed most of the ground colour of his poem, are derived from this source;—and there is not much complication or invention in the particular incidents he has imagined for bringing them into connexion. Though the nature of the subject, and the uniformity of sadness to which it inevitably led, rendered it eminently unfit for actual representation, and not very suitable for a dramatic form, we think there are many dramatic beauties in the poem before us, and a very great number of passages that are both pathetic and poetical in a very high degree. We shall make no apology, therefore, for presenting our readers with a pretty full account of it, and with such specimens of the execution as may enable them to judge of its merits.

The scene opens with the conversation of Frankfort and Wilmot, two young naval officers, on the banks of the Thames, a few miles below the city. They had heard of the pestilence on their making the coast some days before;—and one of them is pressing on with overwhelming fears and forebodings, to satisfy himself as to the fate of a beloved mother and brother, whom he had left in the devoted city at his last sailing, and not heard of since;—the other belongs to a different part of the kingdom, and accompanies his friend from mere love and affection. The lonely and desolate appearances of the once gay and populous region through which they are advancing, oppress the despairing son with new terrors, while his friend endeavours to comfort him, by reminding him that it is then the sabbath evening, and consequently devoted to rest. He answers, in a fine vein of poetry—

> ' O unrejoicing Sabbath! not of yore
> Did thy sweet evenings die along the Thames
> Thus silently! Now every sail is furl'd,
> The oar hath dropt from out the rower's hand,
> And on thou flow'st in lifeless majesty,
> River of a desert lately filled with joy!
> O'er all that mighty wilderness of stone
> The air is clear and cloudless as at sea
> Above the gliding ship. All fires are dead,
> And not one single wreath of smoke ascends
> Above the stillness of the towers and spires.
> How idly hangs that arch magnificent
> Across the idle river! Not a speck
> Is seen to move along it. There it hangs,
> Still as a rainbow in the pathless sky.' p. 6.

In the same spirit of fanciful foreboding, he views all the objects that successively present themselves; and at last observes—

> ' Here, on this very spot where now we rest,
> Upon the morning I last sail'd from England,

My mother put her arms around my neck,
And in a solemn voice, unchok'd by tears,
Said, " Son ! a last farewell ! " That solemn voice,
Amid the ocean's roaring solitude,
Oft past across my soul, and I have heard it
Steal in sad music from the sunny calm.
Upon our homeward voyage, when we spake
The ship that told us of the Plague, I knew
That the trumpet's voice would send into our souls
Some dismal tidings ; for I saw her sails
Black in the distance, flinging off with scorn
'lower of radiance from the blessed sun.' p. 9.

.ey are pausing in these melancholy contemplations, costed by an old man flying from the city with a little e sole surviver of a late happy family, who holds a long .tion with them, in a tone rather too elevated and poeti- the occasion. There is considerable force and effect, er, in the following passage.

' Know ye what you will meet with in the city ?
Together will ye walk, through long, long streets,
All standing silent as a midnight church.
You will hear nothing but the brown red grass
Rustling beneath your feet ; the very beating
Of your own hearts will awe you ; the small voice
Of that vain bauble, idly counting time,
Will speak a solemn language in the desert.
Look up to heaven, and there the sultry clouds,
Still threatening thunder, lower with grim delight,
As if the Spirit of the plague dwelt there,
Darkening the city with the shadows of death.' p. 14.

He then proceeds to describe the horrors of the scene, and, in particular, the nightly interment of the dead, in cart and waggon loads, in the vast pits that were opened in different parts of the city.

' Would you look in ? Grey hairs and golden tresses,
Wan shrivell'd cheeks that have not smil'd for years ;
And many a rosy visage smiling still ;
Bodies in the noisome weeds of beggary wrapt,
With age decrepit, and wasted to the bone ;
And youthful frames, august and beautiful,
In spite of mortal pangs,—there lie they all
Embrac'd in ghastliness ! But look not long,
For haply, 'mid the faces glimmering there,
The well-known cheek of some beloved friend
Will meet thy gaze, or some small snow-white hand,
Bright with the ring that holds her lover's hair.' p. 15.

He then warns them again against entering the devoted place; but, finding them resolved, commends them to the prayers of 'the radiant angel,' whom he assures them they will meet, conveying peace and consolation through the despairing streets.

The Second Scene is of a more questionable character. It represents a crazy impostor, dealing out his astrological prognostications to a wild and distracted multitude, in one of the squares of the city. There is a good deal of striking and agonizing detail in the statements that are made by the pale inquirers, and many traits of a savage and powerful eloquence in the dread and mystical responses that are returned by the oracle. In the midst of his prophesying, and just after Frankfort and Wilmot have mingled in the audience, he is smitten with the plague, and the assembly flies from the contagion.

——'Disperse
All ye who prize your lives!—Soon will the air
Be foul with his dead body.'

The Third Scene introduces us to Magdalene the gentle heroine of the piece. This innocent maid, bred from her infancy among the lakes and hills of Westmoreland, where she had been betrothed to Frankfort, had come to London in his absence with her father and mother, at the period when the pestilence began its ravages. Both parents had fallen among its earliest victims; and the poor orphan had been left with one female friend among the dead and the dying. In this awful situation, she felt herself roused to extraordinary exertions; and, regardless of her own danger, had passed several months in tending the dying and the friendless, praying by the desperate, and rendering all offices of saintly humanity to the miserable sufferers of the devoted city. She is here presented praying by night in one of the deserted churches.

'Oh! let me walk the waves of this wild world
Through faith unsinking;—stretch thy saving hand
To a lone castaway upon the sea,
Who hopes no resting-place except in heaven.
And oh! this holy calm,—this peace profound,—
That sky so glorious in infinitude,—
That countless host of softly-burning stars,
And all that floating universe of light,
Lift up my spirit far above the grave,
And tell me that my pray'rs are heard in Heaven.' p. 38.

A ruffian who had entered the same place for purposes of sacrilege and violence, is touched by her sweet voice and saint-like demeanour;—confesses with horror the tremendous profligacy in which he and his associates had been living since the plague

had rendered them desperate;—and is sent away heart-struck and penitent.

The Fourth Scene is rather an unsuccessful attempt to represent one of those seemingly unnatural orgies,—those frantic displays of wild and daring revelry, to which the desperation of the time naturally gave rise, and which are so strikingly depicted in the work of De Foe. Mr Wilson has set out a long table in a silent and deserted street, and placed around it a party of licentious young men and women carousing. He has made them drink toasts and memories, sing songs in praise of the plague, and even utter scoffs and impieties against a reverend priest who comes to reprove their excesses;—but he has not in any one instance caught the true tone of profligacy, or even of convivial gaiety. It seems as if he had not the heart to represent human creatures as thoroughly reprobate or unamiable. Accordingly, they all give signs of penitence and good feeling. Even the prostitutes are gentle-hearted, delicate and interesting beings; and the master of those unseemly revels, turns out to be graced with almost every virtue under heaven. However creditable it may be to his philanthropy, this faintheartedness in conceiving profligacy, is a great defect in an author who deals in effect. With what bold lines and strong colouring would Scott have drawn such a scene as this!—what shuddering and horror would Crabbe have excited by means of it!—what mingled laughter and pity and terror would it have breathed in the hands of Shakespeare!

The Second Act shows us Frankfort at the door of his mother's house, looking in agony upon its black windows, now gleaming in the silent moon; afraid to enter, and watching for the least sign of life or motion in that beloved dwelling. A pious priest at last comes and tells him, that his mother and little brother had both died that very morning. After some bursts of eloquent sorrow, the poor youth inquires how they died; and the priest answers—

> 'Last night I sat with her,
> And talk'd of thee;—two tranquil hours we talk'd
> Of thee and none beside, while little William
> Sat in his sweet and timid silent way
> Upon his stool beside his mother's knees,
> And, sometimes looking upwards to her face,
> Seem'd listening of his brother far at sea.
> This morning early I look'd in upon them
> Almost by chance. There little William lay
> With his bright hair and rosy countenance
> Dead! though at first I thought he only slept.

" You think, " his mother said, " that William sleeps!
" But he is dead! He sicken'd during the night,
" And while I pray'd he drew a long deep sigh,
" And breath'd no more! "
—I found that she had laid upon her bed
Many of those little presents that you brought her
From your first voyage to the Indies. Shells
With a sad lustre brighten'd o'er the whiteness
Of these her funeral sheets; and gorgeous feathers,
With which, few hours before, her child was playing,
And lisping all the while his brother's name,
Form'd a sad contrast with the pale, pale face
Lying so still beneath its auburn hair.
Two letters still are in her death-closed hand
And will be buried with her. One was written
By your captain, after the great victory
Over De Ruyter, and with loftiest praise
Of her son's consummate skill and gallantry.
The other, now almost effaced by tears,
Was from yourself, the last she had from you,
And spoke of your return. God bless thee, boy!
I am too old to weep—but such return
Wrings out the tears from my old wither'd heart.
Frank. O 'tis the curse of absence that our love
Becomes too sad—too tender—too profound
Towards all our far-off friends. Home we return
And find them dead for whom we often wept,
Needlessly wept when they were in their joy!
Then goes the broken-hearted mariner
Back to the sea that welters drearily
Around the homeless earth! ' p. 69–71.

The Second Scene passes between the holy Magdalene and her faithful Isabel, within their little apartment in a lonely street of the suburbs. It is very characteristic of the author's manner,—and is full, we think, of tenderness and beauty. After talking over their daily tasks of charity, their thoughts wander back to their own home [illegible] e mountains—and to the
glory to the landscape.
noon returns
I feel
weet breeze!
lake
Came through the tall pines on yon little isle
Across to us upon the vernal shore
With a kind friendly greeting. Frankfort blest
The unseen musician floating through the air,
And smiling said, " Wild harper of the hill!
" So may'st thou play thy ditty when once more

" This lake I do revisit. " As he spoke,
Away died the music in the firmament,
And unto silence left our parting hour.
No breeze will ever steal from Nature's heart
So sweet again to me.
Whate'er my doom,
It cannot be unhappy. God hath given me
The boon of resignation: I could die,
Though doubtless human fears would cross my soul,
Calmly even now;—yet if it be ordain'd
That I return unto my native valley
And live with Frankfort there, why should I fear
To say I might be happy—happier far
Than I deserve to be. Sweet Rydal lake!
Am I again to visit thee? to hear
Thy glad waves murmuring all around my soul?
Isabel. Methinks I see us in a cheerful groupe
Walking along the margin of the bay
Where our lone summer-house . . . . . .
Magd. Sweet mossy cell!
So cool—so shady—silent and compos'd!
A constant evening full of gentle dreams!
Where joy was felt like sadness, and our grief
A melancholy pleasant to be borne.
Hath the green linnet built her nest this spring
In her own rose-bush near the quiet door?
Bright solitary bird! she oft will miss
Her human friends: Our orchard now must be
A wilderness of sweets, by none belov'd.
Isabel. One blessed week would soon restore its beauty,
Were we at home. Nature can work no wrong.
The very weeds how lovely! the confusion
Doth speak of breezes, sunshine, and the dew.
Magd. I hear the murmuring of a thousand bees
In that bright odorous honeysuckle wall
That once enclos'd the happiest family
That ever lived beneath the blessed skies.
Where is that family now? O Isabel,
I feel my soul descending to the grave,
And all these loveliest rural images
Fade, like waves breaking on a dreary shore.
Isabel. Even now I see a stream of sunshine bathing
The bright moss-roses round our parlour window!
Oh! were we sitting in that room once more!
Magd. 'Twould seem inhuman to be happy there,
And both my parents dead. How could I walk
On what I used to call my father's walk,
He in his grave! or look upon that tree

Each year so full of blossoms or of fruit
Planted by my mother, and her holy name
Graven on its stem by mine own infant hands!' p. 75—77.

This overflowing of innocent hearts is continued with the same sweetness through several pages;—and then they sing their evening hymns together, and pass to the discharge of other duties.

The Third Scene has scarcely any reference to the main agents in the story,—but consists altogether of conversations in the streets on the subject of the wide-wasting pestilence, and the signs by which its approach was announced. There is something very terrific and impressive in the images Mr W. has conjured up for this purpose. The orator of the superstitious gossips demands—

'—Did any here behold, as I beheld,
That Phantom who three several nights appear'd,
Sitting upon a cloud-built throne of state
Right o'er St Paul's Cathedral? On that throne
At the dead hour of night he took his seat,
And monarch-like stretch'd out his mighty arm
That shone like lightning. In that kingly motion
There seem'd a steadfast threat'ning—and his features,
Gigantic 'neath their shadowy diadem,
Frown'd, as the Phantom vow'd within his heart
Perdition to the City. Then he rose,
Majestic spectre! keeping still his face
Towards the domes beneath, and disappear'd,
Still threatening with his outstretch'd arm of light,
Into a black abyss behind the clouds.
Voice from the crowd. 'And saw ye not
The sheeted corpses stalking through the sky
In long long troops together—yet all silent,
And unobservant of each other, gliding
Down a dark flight of steps that seem'd to lead
Into the bosom of eternity?
'What sawest thou else?
3d Man. I have seen hearses moving through the sky!
Not few or solitary, as on earth
They pass us by upon a lonesome road.
But thousands, tens of thousands mov'd along
In grim procession—a long league of plumes
Tossing in the storm that roar'd aloft in heaven,
Yet bearing onwards through the hurricane,
A black, a silent, a wild cavalcade
That nothing might restrain; till in a moment
The heavens were freed, and all the sparkling stars
Look'd through the blue and empty firmament!' p. 87, 88.

There is, then, another attempt to portray profligate insensibility and blasphemous daring;—but the author's heart again fails him, and a few words of mild exhortation from Magdalene melts the whole party into tears of penitential sorrow.

The following scene passes calmly and sorrowfully between Frankfort, his friend, and the Priest, beside the bodies of the innocent sufferers. The Priest decribes the death of Magdalene's parents, and her heroic devotion since that event.

' —What! though thy Magdalene heretofore had known
Only the name of sorrow, living far
Within the heart of peace, with birds and flocks,
The flowers of the earth, and the high stars of heaven
Companions of her love and innocence;
Yet she who in that region of delight,
Slumber'd in the sunshine, or the shelter'd shade,
Rose with the rising storm, and like an angel
With hair unruffled in its radiance, stood
Beside the couch of tossing agony!
As undisturb'd as on some vernal day
Walking alone through mountain-solitude,
To bring home in her arms a new-yean'd lamb
Too feeble for the snow!
Frank. I wonder not!
Its beauty was most touching, and I loved
The bright and smiling surface of her soul;
But I have gazed with adoration
Upon its awful depths profoundly calm,
Seen far down shadowing the sweet face of heaven.'

p. 106, 107.

While they are thus discoursing, she enters,—and the loving orphans embrace each other in speechless sorrow and delight. The last scene of this act begins with rather a dull dialogue between a gravedigger and his apprentice, broken off by a brawl and fatal duel in the churchyard, and ends with the funeral of Frankfort's mother.

The Last Act, for there are but three, opens with a quiet conversation between Frankfort's friend and the reverend Priest, in which the latter describes some of the most remarkable effects of the first appearance of the plague.

——' As thunder quails
Th' inferior creatures of the air and earth,
So bowed the Plague at once all human souls,
And the brave man beside the natural coward
Walk'd trembling. On the restless multitude,
Thoughtlessly toiling through a busy life,
Nor hearing in the tumult of their souls

The ordinary language of decay,
A voice came down that made itself be heard,
As Death's benumbing fingers suddenly
Swept off whole crowded streets into the grave.
Then rose a direful struggle with the Pest!
And all the ordinary forms of life
Mov'd onwards with the violence of despair.
Wide flew the crowded gates of theatres,
And a pale frightful audience, with their souls
Looking in perturbation through the glare
Of a convulsive laughter, sat and shouted
At obscene ribaldry, and mirth profane.
There yet was heard parading through the streets
War-music, and the soldier's tossing plumes
Mov'd with their wonted pride. O idle show
Of these poor worthless instruments of death,
Themselves devoted! Childish mockery!
At which the Plague did scoff, who in one night
The trumpet silenc'd and the plumes laid low.' p. 119, 120.

And a little after—

' Silent as nature's solitary glens
Slept the long streets—and mighty London seem'd,
With all its temples, domes, and palaces,
Like some sublime assemblage of tall cliffs
That bring down the deep stillness of the heavens
To shroud them in the desert. Groves of masts
Rose through the brightness of the sun-smote river,
But all their flags were struck, and every sail
Was lower'd. Many a distant land had felt
The sudden stoppage of that mighty heart.
And as I look'd
Down on the courts and markets, where the soul
Of this world's business once roar'd like the sea,
That sound within my memory strove in vain,' &c. p. 122–3.

In this interesting conversation, they are interrupted by the return of Frankfort himself—in a wild access of delirium and fever. He is with difficulty borne home; and the scene shifts to the lonely chamber of Magdalene, where it soon appears that the same unsparing malady has likewise laid its spell on that sainted creature. After some starts of natural sorrow, she composes herself in blissful gentleness—

——' O were Frankfort happy!
I now could follow death into the grave
As joyfully as in the month of May
A lamb glides after its soft-bleating mother
Into a sunny field of untrod dew.' p. 138.

—but hearing of his seizure, she insists upon going instantly to

him; and accordingly arrives in the next scene to still the tossing of his wounded spirit, with her meek eyes and enchanting voice. He recognizes her almost immediately, and regains his perfect recollection; and she says—

Thy face
Is all at once spread over with a calm
More beautiful than sleep, or mirth, or joy!
I am no more disconsolate. We shall die
Like two glad waves, that, meeting on the sea
In moonlight and in music, melt away
Quietly 'mid the quiet wilderness!' p. 147, 148.

She then clasps him in her arms; and he says—

'Thy soft white spotless bosom, like the plumes
Of some compassionate angel, meets my heart!
And all therein is quiet as the snow
At breathless midnight.
A sweet mild voice is echoing far away
In the remotest regions of my soul.
'Tis clearer now—and now again it dies,
And leaves a silence smooth as any sea,
When all the stars of heaven are on its breast.
Magd. We go to sleep, and shall awake with God.
Frank. Sing me one verse of a hymn before I die.
One of those hymns you sang long, long ago
On Sabbath evenings! Sob not so, my Magdalene.' p. 149.

We pity the reader who does not feel the beauty and the pathos of those simple expressions. He dies in that pure embrace: and she remains entranced upon his bosom. The Priest says—

'See her breath just moves
The ringlets on his cheek!—How lovingly
In her last sleep these white and gentle hands
Lie on his neck and breast!—Her soul is parting!' p. 151.

She does not die there, however; but is present at his funeral in the concluding scene. She faints at the edge of his grave, and is thus commiserated by the by-standers.

'That one small grave—that one dead mariner—
That dying Lady—and those wond'rous friends
So calm, so lofty, yet compassionate—
Do strike a deeper awe into our souls,
A deeper human grief than yon wide pit
With its unnumber'd corpses.
Another Voice. Woe and death
Have made that Angel bright their prey at last!
But yesterday I saw her heavenly face
Becalm a shrieking room with one sweet smile!
For her, old age will tear his hoary locks,

And childhood murmur forth her holy name
Weeping in sorrowful dreams!
Another Voice. Her soft hand clos'd
My children's eyes,—and when she turn'd to go,
The beauty of her weeping countenance
So sank into my heart, that I beheld
The little corpses with a kind of joy,
Assured by that compassionate Angel's smile
That they had gone to heaven.' p. 162.

She dies at length in blissful resignation, and the scene closes with prayers and benedictions.

We have dwelt so long upon this leading part of the volume before us, that we can afford to give but a short account of the rest. There is another dramatic fragment, entitled—'The Convict,' which we think has extraordinary merit.—The subject is the conviction and deliverance, at the place of execution, of an innocent country man, upon whom accidental circumstances had fastened irresistible suspicions of murder. The topics may seem low and ignoble, but the interest excited is prodigious, and of a true tragic character,—while the piety of the unhappy victim, the innocent simplicity of his wife and children, and the rustic images belonging to his condition, serve to redeem the horror of the main incidents, and lend a certain elegance and dignity to what might otherwise appear but a dreadful or an edifying story. The great merit of the piece, however, consists in the fine dissection and leisurely display of all the terrible emotions that belong to such an occurrence, and in forcing the reader to contemplate it steadily and fixedly, till all the powerful emotions with which it is pregnant are developed, and find their way to the heart. We have not room now to give any considerable specimens of the way in which this is executed. But we must add a part of the last scene. One compassionate and distant spectator observes,

'I see the hill-side all alive,
With silent faces gazing steadfastly
On one poor single solitary wretch,
Who views not in the darkness of his trouble
One human face among the many thousands
All staring towards the scaffold! Some are there
Who have driven their carts with his unto the market,
Have shook hands with him meeting at the Fair,
Have in his very cottage been partakers
Of the homely fare which rev'rently he blessed,
Yea! who have seen his face in holier places,
And in the same seat been at worship with him,
Within the House of God. May God forgive them!' p. 283.

The whole process of dreadful preparation, with its effect on the sympathizing crowd, is then described with admirable force of colouring. When all is about to be concluded, the true murderer is accidentally discovered, and dragged to the foot of the scaffold, amidst shouts to stop the execution; at this instant the prisoner's wife, followed by her children, bursts through the crowd, and exclaims,

'Come down—come down—my husband! from the scaffold.
—O Christ! art thou alive—or dead with fear!
Let me leap up with one bound to his side,
And strain him to my bosom till our souls
Are mix'd like rushing waters.
Dost hear thy Alice? Come down from the scaffold,
And walk upon the green and flowery earth
With me, thy wife, in everlasting joy! [*She tries to move forward, but falls down in a fainting fit.*]

One of the crowd. See—see his little daughter! how she tears
The covering from his eyes—unbinds the halter—
Leaps up to his bosom—and with sobs is kissing
His pale fix'd face. "I am thy daughter—Father!"
But there he stands—as lifeless as a stone—
Nor sees—nor feels—nor hears—his soul seems gone
Upon a dismal travel!

[*The* Prisoner *is led down from the scaffold, with his daughter held unconsciously in his arms.*]

Prisoner. Must this wild dream be all dreamt o'er again!
Who put this little Child into my arms? My wife
Lying dead!—Thy judgments, Heaven! are terrible.

The Clergyman. Look up—this world is shining out once more
In welcome to thy soul recalled from death.
The murderer is discovered.

[*The prisoner falls on his knees, and his wife, who has recovered, goes and kneels by his side.*]

Clergyman. Crowd not so round them—let the glad fresh air
Enter into their souls.

Prisoner. Alice! one word!
Let me hear thy voice assuring me of life.
Ah me! that soft cheek brings me by its touch
From the black, dizzy, roaring brink of death,
At once into the heart of happiness!
—Gasping with gratitude! she cannot speak.

Wife. I never shall smile more—but all my days
Walk with still footsteps, and with humble eyes,
An everlasting hymn within my soul
To the great God of Mercy!

Prisoner (starting up). O thou bright angel with that golden hair,
Scattering thy smiles like sunshine through the light,

Art thou my own sweet Daughter! Come, my Child,
Come dancing on into thy Father's soul!
Come with those big tears sparkling on thy cheeks,
And let me drink them with a thousand kisses.
—That laugh hath fill'd the silent world with joy!' p. 287–89.

The two most considerable of the other poems are 'The Children's Dance,' and 'The Scholar's Funeral,' both written with very considerable elegance, and full of the author's characteristic sweetness and tenderness. The first is not the celebration of a city ball, but of the annual assembly of the infant rustics around Grassmere and its romantic neighbourhood, who meet in a little lowly room, garnished with holly boughs and Christmas roses, to exhibit before their delighted parents their proficiency in the arts taught by the old village dancing-master, the judicious instructor of more than one generation. It begins,

'How calm and beautiful the frosty Night
Has stol'n unnotic'd like the hush of sleep
O'er Grassmere vale! Beneath the mellowing light,
How sinks in softness every rugged steep!' p. 171.

'Through many a vale how rang each snow-roof'd cot,
This livelong day with rapture blithe and wild!
All thoughts but of the lingering eve forgot,
Both by grave Parent, and light hearted Child.' &c.

'All day the earthen floors have felt their feet
Twinkling quick measures to the liquid sound
Of their own small-piped voices shrilly sweet,—
As hand in hand they wheel'd their giddy round.
Ne'er fairy-revels on the greensward mound
To dreaming bard a lovelier show display'd:—
Titania's self did ne'er with lighter bound
Dance o'er the diamonds of the dewy glade,
Than danc'd, at peep of morn, mine own dear mountain-maid.'

'Oft in her own small mirror had the gleam,
The soften'd gleam of her rich golden hair,
That o'er her white neck floated in a stream,
Kindled to smiles that Infant's visage fair,
Half-conscious she that beauty glistened there!
Oft had she glanced her restless eyes aside
On silken sash so bright and debonnair,
Then to her mother flown with leaf-like glide,
Who kiss'd her cherub-head with tears of silent pride.'
p. 172, 173.

The description of the whole scene is equally beautiful and touching; but we can afford room for no more than the breaking up and retiring of the party.

' But now the lights are waxing dim and pale,
And shed a fitful gleaming o'er the room;
'Mid the dim hollies one by one they fail,
Another hour, and all is wrapt in gloom.
And lo! without, the cold, bright stars illume
The cloudless air, so beautiful and still,
While proudly placed in her meridian dome
Night's peerless Queen the realms of heaven doth fill
With peace and joy, and smiles on each vast slumbering hill.'
' The dance and music cease their blended glee,
And many a wearied infant hangs her head,
Dropping asleep upon her mother's knee,
Worn out with joy, and longing for her bed.
Yet some lament the bliss too quickly fled,' &c. p. 185.
' O'er Loughrig-cliffs I see one party climb,
Whose empty dwellings through the hush'd midnight
Sleep in the shade of Langdale-pikes sublime—
Up Dummail-Raise, unmindful of the height,
His daughter in his arms, with footsteps light
The father walks, afraid lest she should wake!
Through lonely Easdale past yon cots so white
On Helm-crag side, their journey others take;
And some to those sweet homes that smile by Rydal lake.'
' He too, the Poet of this humble show,
Silent walks homeward through the hour of rest—
While quiet as the depth of spotless snow,
A pensive calm contentment fills his breast!
O wayward man! were he not truly blest!
That Lake so still below—that Sky above!
Unto his heart a sinless Infant prest,
Whose ringlets like the glittering dew-wire move,
Floating and sinking soft amid the breath of love!'
p. 186, 187.

The scene of ' the Scholar's Funeral' is at Oxford; and it commemorates the untimely death of a glorious youth, who sickened and died while pursuing his studies at that seat of learning. It is written throughout with singular elegance and beauty; and has an air of sad reality about it, that assures us of its being drawn from nature. But we can afford no more extracts—and must here close our notice of this interesting volume.

We take our leave of it with unfeigned regret, and very sincere admiration of the author's talents. He has undoubtedly both the heart and the fancy of a poet; and, with these great requisites, is almost sure of attaining the higher honours of his art, if he continue to cultivate it with the docility and diligence of which he has already given proof. Though his

style is still too diffuse, and his range too limited, the present volume is greatly less objectionable on these grounds than the former. It has also less of the peculiarities of the Lake School; and, in particular, is honourably distinguished from the productions of its founders, by being quite free from the paltry spite and fanatical reprobation with which, like other fierce and narrow-minded sectaries, they think it necessary to abuse all whose tastes or opinions are not exactly conformable to their own. There is no shadow of this ludicrous insolence in the work before us; in consequence of which, we think it extremely likely, that he will be execrated and reviled, on the first good opportunity, by his late kind masters.

ART. XI. *The Story of Rimini, a Poem.* By LEIGH HUNT. pp. 111. London, Murray, 1816.

THERE is a great deal of genuine poetry in this little volume; and poetry, too, of a very peculiar and original character. It reminds us, in many respects, of that pure and glorious style that prevailed among us before French models and French rules of criticism were known in this country, and to which we are delighted to see there is now so general a disposition to recur. Yet its more immediate prototypes, perhaps, are to be looked for rather in Italy than in England: at least, if it be copied from any thing English, it is from something much older than Shakespeare; and it unquestionably bears a still stronger resemblance to Chaucer than to his immediate followers in Italy. The same fresh, lively and artless pictures of external objects,—the same profusion of gorgeous but redundant and needless description,—the same familiarity and even homeliness of diction—and, above all, the same simplicity and directness in representing actions and passions in colours true to nature, but without any apparent attention to their effect, or any ostentation, or even visible impression as to their moral operation or tendency. The great distinction between the modern poets and their predecessors, is, that the latter painted more from the eye and less from the mind than the former. They described things and actions as they saw them, without expressing, or at any rate without dwelling on the deep-seated emotions from which the objects derived their interest, or the actions their character. The moderns, on the contrary, have brought these most prominently forward, and explained and enlarged upon them perhaps at excessive length. Mr Hunt, in

the piece before us, has followed the antient school; and though he has necessarily gone something beyond the naked notices that would have suited the age of Chaucer, he has kept himself far more to the delineation of visible, physical realities, than any other modern poet on such a subject.

Though he has chosen, however, to write in this style, and has done so very successfully, we are not by any means of opinion, that he either writes or appears to write it as naturally as those by whom it was first adopted; on the contrary, we think there is a good deal of affectation in his homeliness, directness, and rambling descriptions. He visibly gives himself airs of familiarity, and mixes up flippant, and even cant phrases, with passages that bear, upon the whole, the marks of considerable labour and study. In general, however, he is very successful in his attempts at facility, and has unquestionably produced a little poem of great grace and spirit, and, in many passages and many particulars, of infinite beauty and delicacy.

In the subject he has selected, he has ventured indeed upon sacred ground; but he has not profaned it. The passage in Dante, on which the story of Rimini is founded, remains unimpaired by the English version, and has even received a new interest from it. The undertaking must be allowed to have been one of great nicety. An imitation of the manner of Dante was an impossibility. That extraordinary author collects all his force into a single blow: His sentiments derive an obscure grandeur from their being only half expressed; and therefore, a detailed narrative of this kind, a description of particular circumstances done upon this ponderous principle, an enumeration of incidents leading to a catastrophe, with all the pith and conclusiveness of the catastrophe itself, would be intolerable. Mr Hunt has arrived at his end by varying his means; and the effect of his poem coincides with that of the original passage, mainly, because the spirit in which it is written is quite different. With the personages in Dante, all is over before the reader is introduced to them; their doom is fixed;—and his style is as peremptory and irrevocable as their fate. But the lovers, whose memory the muse of the Italian poet had consecrated in the other world, are here restored to earth, with the graces and the sentiments that became them in their lifetime. Mr Hunt, in accompanying them to its fatal close, has mingled every tint of many-coloured life in the tissue of their story—blending tears with smiles, the dancing of the spirits with sad forebodings, the intoxication of hope with bitter disappointment, youth with age, life and death together. He has united something of the voluptuous pathos of Boccacio with Ariosto's laughing graces. His

court dresses, and gala processions he has borrowed from Watteau. His sunshine and his flowers are his own! He himself has explained the design of his poem in the Preface.

'The following story is founded on a passage in Dante, the substance of which is contained in the concluding paragraph of the second canto. For the rest of the incidents, generally speaking, the praise or blame remains with myself. The passage in question—the episode of Paulo and Francesca—has long been admired by the readers of Italian poetry, and is indeed the most cordial and refreshing one in the whole of that singular poem, the Inferno, which some call a satire, and some an epic, and which, I confess, has always appeared to me a kind of sublime night-mare. We even lose sight of the place, in which the saturnine poet, according to his summary way of disposing both of friends and enemies, has thought proper to put the sufferers; and see the whole melancholy absurdity of his theology, in spite of itself, falling to nothing before one genuine impulse of the affections.

'The interest of the passage is greatly increased by its being founded on acknowledged matter of fact. Even the particular circumstance which Dante describes as having hastened the fall of the lovers—the perusal of Launcelot of the Lake—is most likely a true anecdote; for he himself, not long after the event, was living at the court of Guido Novello da Polenta, the heroine's father; and indeed the very circumstance of his having related it at all, considering its nature, is a warrant of its authenticity.

'The commentators differ in their accounts of the rest of the story: but all agree that the lady was in some measure beguiled into the match with the elder Malatesta;—Boccacio says, by being shown the younger brother once as he passed over a square, and told that that was her intended husband. I have accordingly turned this artifice to account, though in a different manner. I have also omitted the lameness attributed to the husband; and of two different names, by which he is called, Giovanni and Launcelot, have chosen the former, as not interfering with the hero's appellation, whose story the lovers were reading.

'The Italians have been very fond of this little piece of private history, and I used to wonder that I could meet with it in none of the books of novels, for which they have been so famous; till I reflected that it was, perhaps, owing to the nature of the books themselves, which such a story might have been no means of recommending. The historians of Ravenna, however, have taken care to record it; and, besides Dante's episode, it is alluded to by Petrarch and by Tassoni. The former mentions the lovers among his examples of calamitous passion, in the Trionfo d'Amore, cap. 3.—Tassoni, in his tragi-comic war, introduces Paulo Malatesta, as leading the troops of Rimini, and paints him in a very lively manner, as contemplating, while he rides, a golden sword-chain which Francesca had given him, and which he addresses with melancholy en-

thusiasm, as he goes.' See the Secchia Rapita, canto 5. st. 43, &c.; and canto 7. st. 29, &c.

The poem opens with the following passage of superb description.

'The sun is up, and 'tis a morn of May
Round old Ravenna's clear-shown towers and bay.
A morn, the loveliest which the year has seen,
Last of the spring, yet fresh with all its green;
For a warm eve, and gentle rains at night
Have left a sparkling welcome for the light,
And there's a crystal clearness all about;
The leaves are sharp, the distant hills look out;
A balmy briskness comes upon the breeze;
The smoke goes dancing from the cottage trees;
And when you listen, you may hear a coil
Of bubbling springs about the grassy soil;
And all the scene, in short—sky, earth, and sea,
Breathes like a bright-eyed face, that laughs out openly.
'Tis nature, full of spirits, waked and springing:—
The birds to the delicious time are singing,
Darting with freaks and snatches up and down,
Where the light woods go seaward from the town;
While happy faces, striking through the green
Of leafy roads, at every turn are seen;
And the far ships, lifting their sails of white
Like joyful hands, come up with scattery light,
Come gleaming up, true to the wished-for day,
And chase the whistling brine, and swirl into the bay.
Already in the streets the stir grows loud,
Of expectation and a bustling crowd.
With feet and voice the gathering hum contends,
The deep talk heaves, the ready laugh ascends;
Callings, and clapping doors, and curs unite,
And shouts from mere exuberance of delight,
And armed bands, making important way,
Gallant and grave, the lords of holiday,
And nodding neighbours, greeting as they run,
And pilgrims, chanting in the morning sun.'

Such is the manner in which the business of the day is ushered in. The rest of the first canto is taken up in describing the preparations for receiving the bridegroom, the processions of knights that precede his expected arrival; the dresses, &c.—There is something in all this part of the poem which gives back the sensation of the scene and the occasion;—a glancing eye, a busy ear, great bustle and gaiety, and, where it is required, great grace of description. Perhaps the subject is too

long dwelt upon; and there is, occasionally, a repetition of nearly the same images and expressions. The reader may take the following as fair specimens.

'And hark! the approaching trumpets, with a start,
On the smooth wind come dancing to the heart.
A moment's hush succeeds; and from the walls,
Firm and at once, a silver answer calls.
Then heave the crowd; and all, who best can strive
In shuffling struggle, tow'rd the palace drive,
Where balconied and broad, of marble fair,
On pillars it o'erlooks the public square,' &c.

'For in this manner is the square set out:—
The sides, path-deep, are crowded round about,
And faced with guards, who keep the road entire;
And opposite to these, a brilliant quire
Of knights and ladies hold the central spot,
Seated in groups upon a grassy plot;
The seats with boughs are shaded from above
Of early trees transplanted from a grove,
And in the midst, fresh whistling through the scene,
A lightsome fountain starts from out the green,
Clear and compact, till, at its height o'er-run,
It shakes its loosening silver in the sun.'

'With various earnestness the crowd admire
Horsemen and horse, the motion and the attire.
Some watch, as they go by, the riders' faces
Looking composure, and their knightly graces;
The life, the carelessness, the sudden heed,
The body curving to the rearing steed,
The patting hand, that best persuades the check,
And makes the quarrel up with a proud neck,
The thigh broad pressed, the spanning palm upon it,
And the jerked feather swaling in the bonnet.

Others the horses and their pride explore,
Their jauntiness behind and strength before;
The flowing back, firm chest, and fetlocks clean,
The branching veins ridging the glossy lean,
The mane hung sleekly, the projecting eye
That to the stander near looks awfully,
The finished head, in its compactness free,
Small, and o'erarching to the lifted knee,
The start and snatch, as if they felt the comb,
With mouths that fling about the creamy foam,
The snorting turbulence, the nod, the champing,
The shift, the tossing, and the fiery tramping.'

After all, the future husband does not appear, but his young-

er brother, Paulo, who comes as his proxy to take the bride to Rimini; and it is to the mistaken impression thus made on her mind that all the subsequent distress is owing. His person, his dress, the gallantry of Paulo's demeanour, are very vividly described, and the effect of his appearance on the surrounding multitude.

'And on a milk-white courser, like the air,
A glorious figure springs into the square;
Up, with a burst of thunder, goes the shout,
And rolls the trembling walls and peopled roofs about.
And see,—his horse obeys the check unseen;
And with an air 'twixt ardent and serene,
Letting a fall of curls about his brow,
He takes his cap off with a gallant bow;
Then for another and a deafening shout;
And scarfs are waved, and flowers come fluttering out;
And, shaken by the noise, the reeling air
Sweeps with a giddy whirl among the fair,
And whisks their garments and their shining hair.
With busy interchange of wonder glows
The crowd, and loves his brilliance as he goes,—
The golden-fretted cap, the downward feather,—
The crimson vest fitting with pearls together,—
The rest in snowy white from the mid thigh:
These catch the extrinsic and the common eye.'

The Second Canto gives an account of the bride's journey to Rimini, in the company of her husband's brother, which abounds in picturesque descriptions. Mr Hunt has here taken occasion to enter somewhat learnedly into the geography of his subject; and describes the road between Ravenna and Rimini, with the accuracy of a topographer, and the liveliness of a poet. There is, however, no impertinent minuteness of detail; but only those circumstances are dwelt upon, which fall in with the general interest of the story, and would be likely to strike forcibly upon the imagination in such an interval of anxiety and suspense. We have only room for the concluding lines.

'Various the trees and passing foliage here—
Wild pear, and oak, and dusky juniper,
With briony between in trails of white,
And ivy, and the suckle's streaky light,
And moss, warm gleaming with a sudden mark,
Like flings of sunshine left upon the bark,
And still the pine, long-haired, and dark, and tall,
In lordly right, predominant o'er all.—
Much they admire that old religious tree
With shaft above the rest up-shooting free,

And shaking, when its dark locks feel the wind,
Its wealthy fruit with rough Mosaic rind.
At noisy intervals, the living cloud
Of cawing rooks breaks o'er them, gathering loud
Like a wild people at a stranger's coming;
Then hushing paths succeed, with insects humming,
Or ring-dove, that repeats his pensive plea,
Or startled gull, up-screaming tow'rds the sea.
But scarce their eyes encounter living thing,
Save, now and then, a goat loose wandering,
Or a few cattle, looking up aslant
With sleepy eyes and meek mouths ruminant;
Or once, a plodding woodman, old and bent,
Passing with half-indifferent wonderment;
Yet turning, at the last, to look once more;
Then feels his trembling staff, and onward as before.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
So ride they in delight through beam and shade;—
Till many a rill now passed, and many a glade,
They quit the piny labyrinths, and soon
Emerge into the full and sheeted moon:
Chilling it seems; and pushing steed on steed,
They start them freshly with a homeward speed.
Then well-known fields they pass, and straggling cots,
Boy-storied trees, and passion-plighted spots;
And turning last a sudden corner, see
The square-lit towers of slumbering Rimini.
The marble bridge comes heaving forth below
With a long gleam; and nearer as they go,
They see the still Marecchia, cold and bright,
Sleeping along with face against the light.
A hollow trample now—a fall of chains—
The bride has entered—not a voice remains:—
Night and a maiden silence wrap the plains.'

We have detained our readers longer than we intended, from that which forms the most interesting part of the poem, the Third Canto, of which the subject is the fatal passion between Paulo and Francesca. We shall be ample in our extracts from this part of the poem, because we have no other way of giving an idea of its characteristic qualities. Mr Hunt, as we have already intimated, does not belong to any of the modern schools of poetry; and therefore we cannot convey our idea of his manner of writing, by reference to any of the more conspicuous models. His poetry is not like Mr Wordsworth's, which is metaphysical; nor like Mr Coleridge's, which is fantastical; nor like Mr Southey's, which is monastical. But it is something which we have already endeavoured to sketch by its general

features, and shall now enable the reader to study in detail in the following extracts.

The first disappointment of the warm-hearted bride, and the portraits of the rival brothers, are sketched with equal skill and delicacy.

> ' Enough of this. Yet how shall I disclose
> The weeping days that with the morning rose,
> How bring the bitter disappointment in,—
> The holy cheat, the virtue-binding sin,—
> The shock, that told this lovely, trusting heart,
> That she had given, beyond all power to part,
> Her hope, belief, love, passion, to one brother,
> Possession (oh, the misery!) to another!
> Some likeness was there 'twixt the two—an air
> At times, a cheek, a colour of the hair,
> A tone when speaking of indifferent things;
> Nor, by the scale of common measurings,
> Would you say more perhaps, than that the one
> Was more robust, the other finelier spun;
> That of the two, Giovanni was the graver,
> Paulo the livelier, and the more in favour.
> Some tastes there were indeed, that would prefer
> Giovanni's countenance as the martialler;
> And 'twas a soldier's truly, if an eye
> Ardent and cool at once, drawn-back and high,
> An eagle's nose, and a determined lip,
> Were the best marks of manly soldiership.
> Paulo's was fashioned in a different mould,
> And finer still, I think; for though 'twas bold,
> When boldness was required, and could put on
> A glowing frown, as if an angel shone,
> Yet there was nothing in it one might call,
> A stamp exclusive, or professional—
> No courtier's face, and yet its smile was ready—
> No scholar's, yet its look was deep and steady—
> No soldier's, for its power was all of mind,
> Too true for violence, and too refined.
> A graceful nose was his, lightsomely brought
> Down from a forehead of clear-spirited thought;
> Wisdom looked sweet and inward from his eye;
> And round his mouth was sensibility;—
> It was a face, in short, seemed made to show
> How far the genuine flesh and blood could go;—
> A morning glass of unaffected nature,—
> Something that baffled every pompous feature,—
> The image of a glorious human creature.
>
> The worst of Prince Giovanni, as his bride
> Too quickly found, was an ill-tempered pride.

Bold, handsome, able if he chose to please,
Punctual and right in common offices,
He lost the sight of conduct's only worth,
The scattering smiles on this uneasy earth,
And on the strength of virtues of small weight,
Claimed tow'rds himself the exercise of great.
He kept no reckoning with his sweets and sours;—
He'd hold a sullen countenance for hours,
And then, if pleased to cheer himself a space,
Look for the immediate rapture in your face,
And wonder that a cloud could still be there,
How small soever, when his own was fair.'

'Yet all the while, no doubt, however stern
Or cold at times, he thought he loved in turn.
And that the joy he took in her sweet ways,
The pride he felt when she excited praise,
In short, the enjoyment of his own good pleasure,
Was thanks enough, and passion beyond measure.—
She, had she loved him, might have thought so too;
For what will love's exalting not go through,
Till long neglect and utter selfishness
Shame the fond pride it takes in its distress?
But ill prepared was she, in her hard lot,
To fancy merit where she found it not—
She who had been beguiled—she who was made
Within a gentle bosom to be laid—
To bless and to be blessed—to be heart-bare
To one who found his bettered likeness there—
To think for ever with him, like a bride—
To haunt his eye, like taste personified—
To double his delight, to share his sorrow,
And like a morning beam, wake to him every morrow.'

Paulo's growing passion for Francesca is described with equal delicacy and insight into the sophistry of the human heart. He is represented as first concealing his attachment from himself; then struggling with it; then yielding to it—

'Till 'twas his food and habit day by day,
And she became companion of his thought;
Silence her gentleness before him brought,
Society her sense, reading her books,
Music her voice, every sweet thing her looks.'

'He wished not to himself another's blessing,
But then he might console for not possessing;
And glorious things there were, which but to see
And not admire, was mere stupidity;
He might as well object to his own eyes
For loving to behold the fields and skies,

His neighbour's grove, or story-painted hall;
'Twas but the taste for what was natural.'

But we hasten on to the principal event and the catastrophe of the poem. The scene of the fatal meeting between the lovers is laid in the gardens of the palace, which are here described with the utmost elegance and beauty.

'So now you walked beside an odorous bed
Of gorgeous hues, white, azure, golden, red;
And now turned off into a leafy walk,
Close and continuous, fit for lovers' talk;
And now pursued the stream, and as you trod
Onward and onward o'er the velvet sod,
Felt on your face an air, watery and sweet,
And a new sense in your soft-lighting feet;
And then perhaps you entered upon shades,
Pillowed with dells and uplands 'twixt the glades,
Through which the distant palace, now and then,
Looked lordly forth with many-windowed ken;
A land of trees, which reaching round about,
In shady blessing stretched their old arms out,
With spots of sunny opening, and with nooks,
To lie and read in, sloping into brooks,
Where at her drink you started the slim deer,
Retreating lightly with a lovely fear.
And all about, the birds kept leafy house,
And sung and sparkled in and out the boughs;
And all about, a lovely sky of blue
Clearly was felt, or down the leaves laughed through;
And here and there, in every part, were seats,
Some in the open walks, some in retreats;
With bowering leaves o'erhead, to which the eye
Looked up half sweetly and half awfully,—
Places of nestling green, for poets made,
Where when the sunshine struck a yellow shade,
The slender trunks, to inward peeping sight,
Thronged in dark pillars up the gold green light.
But 'twixt the wood and flowery walks, half-way,
And formed of both, the loveliest portion lay,
A spot that struck you like enchanted ground:—
It was a shallow dell, set in a mound
Of sloping shrubs, that mounted by degrees,
The birch and poplar mixed with heavier trees;
From under which, sent through a marble spout,
Betwixt the dark wet green, a rill gushed out,
Whose low sweet talking seemed as if it said
Something eternal to that happy shade:
The ground within was lawn, with plots of flowers
Heaped towards the centre, and with citron bowers;

And in the midst of all, clustered about
With bay and myrtle, and just gleaming out,
Lurked a pavilion, a delicious sight,
Small, marble, well-proportioned, mellowy white,
With yellow vine-leaves sprinkled,—but no more—
And a young orange either side the door.
It was a beauteous piece of antient skill,
Spared from the rage of war, and perfect still;
By most supposed the work of fairy hands,
Famed for luxurious taste, and choice of lands—
Alcina or Morgana—who from fights
And errant fame inveigled amorous knights,
And lived with them in a long round of blisses,
Feasts, concerts, baths, and bower-enshaded kisses.
But 'twas a temple, as its sculpture told,
Built to the Nymphs that haunted there of old;
For o'er the door was carved a sacrifice
By girls and shepherds brought, with reverend eyes,
Of sylvan drinks and foods, simple and sweet,
And goats with struggling horns and planted feet;
And on a line with this ran round about
A like relief, touched exquisitely out,
That showed, in various scenes, the nymphs themselves;
Some by the water side on bowery shelves
Leaning at will—some in the water sporting
With sides half swelling forth, and looks of courting;
Some in a flowery dell, hearing a swain
Play on his pipe, till the hills ring again—
Some tying up their long moist hair,—some sleeping
Under the trees, with fauns and satyrs peeping—
While their forgotten urns, lying about
In the green herbage, let the water out.
Never, be sure, before or since, was seen
A summer-house so fine in such a nest of green.'

Such is the landscape:—now for the figures.

'All the green garden, flower-bed, shade and plot,
Francesca loved, but most of all, this spot.
Whenever she walked forth, wherever went
About the grounds, to this at last she bent:
Here she had brought a lute and a few books;
Here would she lie for hours, with grateful looks,
Thanking at heart the sunshine and the leaves,
The summer rain-drops counting from the eaves,
And all that promising, calm smile we see
In nature's face, when we look patiently.
Then would she think of heaven; and you might hear
Sometimes, when every thing was hushed and clear,

Her gentle voice from out those shades emerging,
Singing the evening anthem to the Virgin.
The gardeners and the rest, who served the place,
And blest whenever they beheld her face,
Knelt when they heard it, bowing and uncovered,
And felt as if in air some sainted beauty hovered.

One day—'twas on a summer afternoon,
When airs and gurgling brooks are best in tune,
And grasshoppers are loud, and day-work done,
And shades have heavy outlines in the sun,—
The princess came to her accustomed bower
To get her, if she could, a soothing hour,
Trying, as she was used, to leave her cares
Without, and slumberously enjoy the airs,
And the low-talking leaves, and that cool light
The vines let in, and all that hushing sight
Of closing wood seen through the opening door,
And distant plash of waters tumbling o'er,
And smell of citron blooms, and fifty luxuries more.

Painfully clear those rising thoughts appeared,
With something dark at bottom that she feared;
And snatching from the fields her thoughtful look,
She reached o'er-head, and took her down a book,
And fell to reading with as fixed an air,
As though she had been wrapt since morning there.

'Twas Launcelot of the Lake, a bright romance,
That like a trumpet, made young pulses dance,
Yet had a softer note that shook still more:—
She had begun it but the day before,
And read with a full heart, half-sweet, half-sad,
How old King Ban was spoiled of all he had
But one fair castle: how one summer's day
With his fair queen and child he went away
To ask the good King Arthur for assistance.'

We cannot give the whole abstract of the story,—only she becomes more deeply engaged as she comes to the love scenes.—What follows, we think is very exquisitely written.

'Ready she sat with one hand to turn o'er
The leaf, to which her thoughts ran on before,
The other propping her white brow, and throwing
Its ringlets out, under the sky-light glowing.
So sat she fixed; and so observed was she,
Of one who at the door stood tenderly—
Paulo—who from a window seeing her
Go strait across the lawn, and guessing where,
Had thought she was in tears, and found, that day,
His usual efforts vain to keep away.

" May I come in?" said he:—it made her start,—
That smiling voice;—she coloured, pressed her heart
A moment, as for breath; and then with free
And usual tone said, " O yes—certainly. "

There's apt to be, at conscious times like these,
An affectation of a bright-eyed ease,
An air of something quite serene and sure,
As if to seem so, was to be, secure;
With this the lovers met, with this they spoke,
With this they sat down to the self-same book,
And Paulo, by degrees, gently embraced
With one permitted arm her lovely waist;
And both their cheeks, like peaches on a tree,
Leaned with a touch together, thrillingly;
And o'er the book they hung, and nothing said,
And every lingering page grew longer as they read.

As thus they sat, and felt with leaps of heart
Their colour change, they came upon the part
Where fond Geneura, with her flame long nurst,
Smiled upon Launcelot when he kissed her first;—
That touch, at last, through every fibre slid;
And Paulo turned, scarce knowing what he did,
Only he felt he could no more dissemble,
And kissed her, mouth to mouth, all in a tremble.
Sad were those hearts, and sweet was that long kiss;
Sacred be love from sight, whate'er it is.
The world was all forgot, the struggle o'er,
Desperate the joy.—That day they read no more.'

We do not think the execution of the fourth and last Canto quite equal to that of the third: Yet there are passages in it of the greatest beauty; and an air of melancholy breathes from the whole with irresistible softness and effect.

The feelings of Francesca, arising from the consciousness of her melancholy situation and broken vows, are thus finely represented.

' And oh, the morrow, how it used to rise!
How would she open her despairing eyes,
And from the sense of the long lingering day,
Rushing upon her, almost turn away,
Loathing the light, and groan to sleep again!
Then sighing once for all, to meet the pain,
She would get up in haste, and try to pass
The time in patience, wretched as it was;
Till patience self, in her distempered sight,
Would seem a charm to which she had no right,
And trembling at the lip, and pale with fears,
She shook her head, and burst into fresh tears.

Old comforts now were not at her command:
The falcon reached in vain from off his stand;
The flowers were not refreshed; the very light,
The sunshine, seemed as if it shone at night;
The least noise smote her like a sudden wound;
And did she hear but the remotest sound
Of song or instrument about the place,
She hid with both her hands her streaming face.
But worse to her than all (and oh, thought she,
That ever, ever such a worse should be!)
The sight of infant was or child at play;
Then would she turn and move her lips, and pray
That Heaven would take her, if it pleased, away.'

From the distress and agitation of her mind, she afterwards betrays the secret of her infidelity to her husband in her sleep. This leads to a rencounter between the two brothers, which is fatal to Paulo, who runs voluntarily upon his brother's sword; and partly from the shock of the news, partly from previous grief preying on her mind and body, Francesca dies the same day. Her death is profoundly affecting, and leaves an impression on the imagination, icy, cold, and monumental. The squire of Paulo is admitted to the side of her sad couch, to tell the dismal story—and repeats, in the Prince's own words, how he had been forced to fight with his brother—

" and that although
" His noble brother was no fratricide,
" Yet in that fight, and on his sword,—he died. "
" I understand, " with firmness answered she;
More low in voice, but still composedly.
" Now, Tristan—faithful friend—leave me; and take
" This trifle here, and keep it for my sake. "
So saying, from the curtains she put forth
Her thin white hand, that wore a ring of worth;
And he, with tears no longer to be kept
From quenching his heart's thirst, silently wept,
And kneeling took the ring, and touched her hand
To either streaming eye, with homage bland,
And looking on it once, gently up started,
And, in his reverent stillness, so departed.

' Her favorite lady then with the old nurse
Returned, and fearing she must now be worse,
Gently withdrew the curtains, and looked in:—
O, who that feels one godlike spark within,
Shall say that earthly suffering cancels not frail sin!
There lay she praying, upwardly intent,
Like a fair statue on a monument,

With her two trembling hands together prest,
Palm against palm, and pointing from her breast.
She ceased, and turning slowly towards the wall,
They saw her tremble sharply, feet and all,—
Then suddenly be still. Near and more near
They bent with pale inquiry and close ear;—
Her eyes were shut—no motion—not a breath—
The gentle sufferer was at peace in death.'

The bodies of the two lovers are sent back, by order of the husband, to Ravenna, to be buried in one tomb. We shall close our extracts with the account of the arrival of this mournful procession, so different in every respect from the former one.

'The days were then at close of autumn—still,
A little rainy, and towards night-fall chill;
There was a fitful, moaning air abroad;
And ever and anon, over the road,
The last few leaves came fluttering from the trees,
Whose trunks now thronged to sight, in dark varieties.
The people, who from reverence kept at home,
Listened till after noon to hear them come;
And hour on hour went by, and nought was heard
But some chance horseman, or the wind that stirred,
Till towards the vesper hour; and then 'twas said
Some heard a voice, which seemed as if it read;
And others said that they could hear a sound
Of many horses trampling the moist ground.
Still nothing came—till on a sudden, just
As the wind opened in a rising gust,
A voice of chanting rose, and as it spread,
They plainly heard the anthem for the dead.
It was the choristers who went to meet
The train, and now were entering the first street.
Then turned aside that city, young and old,
And in their lifted hands the gushing sorrow rolled.
But of the older people, few could bear
To keep the window, when the train drew near;
And all felt double tenderness to see
The bier approaching, slow and steadily,
On which those two in senseless coldness lay,
Who but a few short months—it seemed a day,
Had left their walls, lovely in form and mind,
In sunny manhood he,—she first of womankind.
They say that when Duke Guido saw them come,
He clasped his hands, and looking round the room,
Lost his old wits for ever. From the morrow
None saw him after. But no more of sorrow.
On that same night, those lovers silently
Were buried in one grave, under a tree.

There, side by side, and hand in hand, they lay
In the green ground:—and on fine nights in May
Young hearts betrothed used to go there to pray.'

We have given these extracts at length, that our readers might judge of the story of Rimini, less on our authority, than its own merits; and we have few remarks to add to those which we ventured to make at the beginning. The diction of this little poem is among its chief beauties—and yet its greatest blemishes are faults in diction.—It is very English throughout—but often very affectedly negligent, and so extremely familiar as to be absolutely low and vulgar. What, for example, can be said for such lines as

'She had stout notions on the marrying score,' or
'He kept no reckoning with his sweets and sours;—' or
'And better still—in my idea at least,' or
'The two divinest things this world has got.'

We see no sort of beauty either in such absurd and unusual phrases as 'a clipsome waist,'—'a scattery light,' or 'flings of sunshine,'—nor any charm in such comparatives as 'martialler,' or 'tastefuller,' or 'franklier,' or in such words as 'whisks,' and 'swaling,' and 'freaks and snatches,' and an hundred others in the same taste. We think the author rather heretical too on the subject of versification—though we have much less objection to his theory than to his practice. But we cannot spare him a line more on the present occasion—and must put off the rest of our admonitions till we meet him again.

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